

NO. 231

**MARCH-JUNE, 1909**

SEE SPECIAL NOTICE ON FIRST PAGE INSIDE.

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# THE ARENA

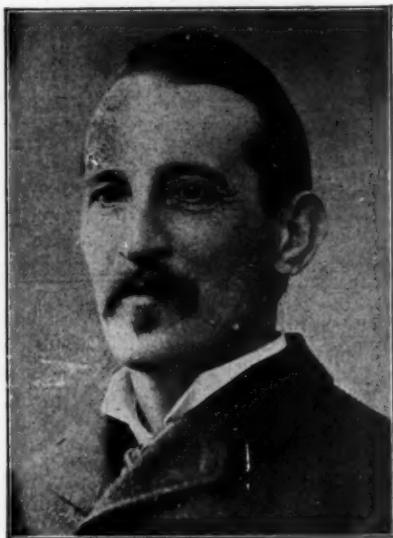
A Twentieth-Century Review of Opinion

B. O. FLOWER: EDITOR



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Browning's Theory of Love, By Elmer J. Bailey, Ph.M.  
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STEPHEN C. COOK, Trustee in Bankruptcy for ALBERT BRANDT, Publisher  
BEATTY AND ADELIN STREETS, TRENTON, N. J. 5 PARK SQUARE, BOSTON, MASS.

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Entered as second-class matter, March 23, 1904, at the post office at Trenton, N. J., under the Act of Congress of March 3, 1879. Copyright, 1909, by Stephen C. Cook, Trustee for Albert Brandt, Bankrupt.

## ANNOUNCEMENT

Financial embarrassment of Mr. Brandt, the publisher of "THE ARENA," has compelled him to resort to the bankruptcy court to protect the interests of his creditors. The undersigned has been appointed Trustee in bankruptcy by the United States Court for the District of New Jersey, and has been authorized to continue, until further ordered, the issuing of the magazine. It is hoped that sufficient capital can speedily be interested to take over "THE ARENA" and push its publication aggressively. Meanwhile the present issue will cover the period from March to June and all unexpired subscriptions will be extended on the books, so that each subscriber may receive twelve numbers for the year's subscription.

The magazine with its good will and appurtenances will be sold by the undersigned as an officer of the court, and communications looking to its purchase are invited.

All subscribers sending to the trustee remittances for renewals will be fully protected. No one need hesitate to subscribe, for he will be assured of equitable treatment at the hands of the court.

STEPHEN C. COOK, TRUSTEE.

*Trenton, N. J.*

## An Explanatory Word

The readers of "THE ARENA" will learn by the announcement printed in this number that I have been forced by circumstances to file a voluntary petition in bankruptcy in order to conserve the interests of my creditors. It is needless to state that I deeply regret the necessity for this step, but I wish to say to those that have loyally stood by the magazine and myself in the fight to uphold and advance fundamental democracy that any apparent shortcomings should in fairness be laid to the unequal and—save for the generous support of a very few friends of the cause—unaided struggle to place on a firm financial footing a magazine whose policy is inimical to all special interests and seeks the welfare of the common people alone. In this struggle I have given my time and energy and sacrificed fortune as well. I congratulate myself, however, that I succeeded in bringing the magazine up from a low ebb to a point where a little more resources and hearty co-operation would have enabled me to land it on the solid ground of business success. It is my hope and trust that plans will soon be effected which will procure the necessary assistance to push forward the work of "THE ARENA" until the principles for which it stands shall become dominant in the nation, and I bespeak the continued support of its readers until the future program can be developed.

ALBERT BRANDT.

## Special Notice to 'Arena' Subscribers

Financial embarrassment on the part of the owner of THE ARENA has prevented the issuance of this magazine since February. Mr. Brandt's property is now in the hands of the receiver, Mr. Stephen C. Cook, who with the permission of the court is issuing this number under my editorial direction. The number is the March issue of THE ARENA, with two forms added.

Plans are now on foot for the organization of a company with sufficient funds to enable THE ARENA to be taken over and pushed in a vigorous and efficient manner under my editorial management; and in this event all unexpired subscriptions will be filled, all subscribers receiving the full twelve issues to which their subscriptions entitle them, and every effort will be made to render prompt, faithful and generous service to our friends.

In this connection I wish to say that few friends of fundamental democracy as yet realize the peril confronting the fundamental principles of free, just and pure government at the present time, owing to the union of the feudalism of privileged wealth acting in concert with party bosses and the money-controlled political machines. The rapid march of militarism, imperialism and monopoly and corporation domination in domestic relations has only been rendered possible by the vast wealth, the perfect organization and determined character of the foes of popular government. For over twenty years I have devoted my life to upholding the principles of free government and striving to further all work for the individual development of character and the spread of that moral idealism upon which civilization depends. THE ARENA has become a powerful and recognized influence with thought-moulders throughout the Anglo-Saxon world—a magazine, feared by all foes of the principles of the Declaration of Independence, as it has been recognized that it was a magazine that could not be bought or frightened. We believe that there are thousands of American patriots who hold with us that it would be nothing short of a calamity for the one great, unmuzzled and aggressive organ of fundamental democracy and just government to be permitted to die.

If the plans on foot succeed and THE ARENA should continue under my editorial management, I have already assurances from master thinkers among the great apostles of democracy, social righteousness and individual upliftment which enables me to promise that the magazine shall appear abler and more vigorous than ever.

Cordially yours,

5 Park Square,

Boston, Massachusetts

B. O. FLOWER



# "The Brandt Books"



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—Saturday Evening Post.

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# THE 'ARENA'

## FOR JULY

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### An Exceptionally Brilliant Issue

THE ARENA for July will be an exceptionally strong and brilliant issue, and will appeal to all earnest-minded and thoughtful American people. Among its many striking features we mention the following:—

#### **I. HOW DENVER SAVED HER JUVENILE COURT.**

**By William McLeod Raine. Splendidly Illustrated.**

A thrilling pen-picture of one of the most significant victories of recent years of the friends of popular government and civic righteousness, in a contest in which the political bosses, party machines and privileged interests combined to defeat an incorruptible judge,—but were overwhelmingly defeated by an awakened people.

#### **II. THE MAKING OF PUBLIC OPINION. By William Kittle, Ph.D.**

This is in our judgement one of the most vital papers to friends of fundamental democracy that has appeared in recent decades. It is the result of careful and exhaustive research and is a bold and timely presentation of facts, many of them sinister and ominous in character. In it the author considers the associated press, venal news bureaus, magazines, library, theater and platform. It is a paper every patriotic American should read and preserve.

# The 'Arena' for July

## **III. AN APOSTLE OF LIGHT. By Carl S. Vrooman.** **With a fine Portrait of the distinguished Frenchman,** **Professor Charles Seignobos.**

This is an exceptionally attractive and informing sketch of one of the great thought-moulders of new France, whom the author characterizes as "an apostle of light". The paper is not only an intimate personal sketch, but it is also a luminous interpretation of the mental and spiritual attitude of the present-day leaders of France. Papers of this character, treated in the intimate manner in which Mr. Vrooman handles his subject, enables the reader to come into the intellectual atmosphere of the progress-inspiring and thought-moulding elements of our great sister Republic in such a way as to immensely broaden his intellectual vision.

## **IV. THE MASTER NOTE IN THE MESSAGE OF CHRISTIAN SCIENCE. By B. O. Flower.**

In this paper Mr. Flower shows that though Christian Scientists regard the healing of the sick as a solemn divine injunction imposed by Christ upon His followers, it is but a means to a supreme end,—that of awakening man to a realization of his true nature, his unity with the All-Father. He shows that Jesus, the apostles and the early church, through the healing of disease, were able to arrest the attention of a sleeping society and awaken man to a realization of his higher self and his intimate relation to the All-Life; that in moral idealism or the awakening of the spiritual is to be found the secret of the wonderful growth of Christian Science. He draws a vivid pen-picture of the state of society at the time of the advent of the Founder of Christianity, in the Roman, Grecian and Judean worlds, and shows the striking similarity in church and society to-day and that the heart hunger of the old time is evidenced in the reaching out of the people for that which offers a living faith and which appeals to the moral idealism in the heart of man.

## **V. A TWENTIETH-CENTURY REFORMATORY MOVEMENT IN THE TREATMENT OF THE CRIMINAL.** **By. Rev. Frank B. Sleeper.**

A striking and illuminating paper on the probation system as practiced in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, with a sketch of the distinguished Boston jurist, Judge Daniel W. Bond, one of the great pioneers in this important advance step in criminology.

# The 'Arena' for July

## VI. WHY WORKING PEOPLE DO NOT GO TO CHURCH

By P. W. Hynes.

This is the fourth paper in THE ARENA's series of practical discussions on the church and the people, which was inaugurated by the striking paper by the Rev. John Haynes Holmes, pastor of the Church of the Messiah of New York City, and followed by papers by Rev. P. Gavan Duffy, the brilliant New England Episcopalian clergyman, and Mr. Rufus W. Weeks, the prominent New York business man. Mr. Hynes' paper is quite as thought-inspiring and vital as any that preceded it. The author gives a working-man's view of why the toilers do not go to church. He is a Roman Catholic and a Socialist. His is the layman's view, but it is from the pen of a layman who is well equipped for a masterly discussion of the theme through wide and discriminating reading and a long life of thoughtful and judicial observation.

## VII. THE PEOPLE'S RULE IN OREGON. By C. H. McColloch.

This is more than an interesting chapter in contemporaneous history, in that it is pregnant with vital suggestions for thoughtful men and women who are everywhere slowly awakening to the fact that privilege and reaction are busily at work forging anew the old chains of oppression. No state in America has made such rapid, wise and steady advance along the lines of popular government during the past fifteen years as has Oregon. She has held aloft the banner of popular rule and the ideals of democracy as embodied in the New England town-meeting form of government and splendidly emphasized in the Declaration of Independence. A magnificent summary of the remarkable political advance movements in this democratic experiment station of the New World is contributed to the July ARENA by a prominent Oregon lawyer.

## VIII. A BRIEF SATIRE ON MR. ROOSEVELT'S ATTACK ON SOCIALISM. By Charles Edward Russell.

Probably nothing has been so helpful to the Socialistic propaganda as President Roosevelt's amazing and intemperate attack upon this great politico-economic theory, which has been admirably and adequately answered by leading Socialists. It has remained, however, for Mr. Charles Edward Russell, the brilliant author and essayist, to expose with delightful humor, in a brief satire, the ignorant and baseless assumptions of the ex-President.







Photo. by Marceau, New York

DAVID WARFIELD

*"We do not take possession of our ideas, but are possessed by them;  
They master us and force us into the arena,  
Where, like gladiators, we must fight for them."—HEINE.*

# The Arena

VOL. 41

MARCH, 1909

No. 231

## DAVID WARFIELD: THE ACTOR AND THE MAN.

BY LAWRENCE HALL.

TO SPEAK of a "school of acting" is rather unsatisfactory, for it means little. The French and the Germans have individual standards to which their players still cling. The English have a "style" which does not show much variation in individual cases, although modified slightly by individual mannerisms. One cosmopolite describes the English style of acting as "a composite picture of mannerisms." It is indeed a style formed mostly by collective personalities which vary little. And, it may be added, the picture is pleasing. That is as nearly as we can define the English "school."

The American "school"—if there be one—is less formed than that. With ideas borrowed from the French, the Germans and the English, adding some of our own mannerisms, we are, perhaps, farther away from a standard than any other nation. Yet American actors seem to please even if we have no national tape to measure their art.

Is the style of American acting to change? I think it is. And I believe that David Warfield is doing more to effect the change, to create the standard,

than any other actor has done up to this time.

This excellent American actor has a style—a method, if you will—that is positively distinctive. It is quite as appropriate and accurate to speak of Warfield's style as it is to discuss Addison's or Ruskin's or Ibsen's. Other American actors have mannerisms—Warfield is not without his own—but he has what the others lack—a positive style. It is, in my opinion, as the stylist of the stage that David Warfield's name will be given to posterity. He is the first American actor whose influence is to effect the moulding of the new American art of acting. There is no doubt that he is even now influencing other American actors, either directly or indirectly, either by direct appeal or through his own audiences. His contemporaries thus are influenced consciously or unconsciously, voluntarily or involuntarily.

Many actors will admit that they are studying David Warfield's methods; others are acquiring his style as much as possible, some without admitting their intention, others openly acknowledging

the potency of the methods. But it is through the audiences that the most effective change is to be wrought; it is they who are demanding the change of style and methods, the establishing of the inevitable, new American standard.

David Warfield is a realist. What Ibsen has been, and will continue to be to the drama, Warfield is to the acting of the drama. Just as the Norwegian dramatist has influenced other dramatic authors, just as he has schooled them in the exposition of truth and life, David Warfield is now effecting the actor, by demonstrating to actor and layman the great artistic work of simplicity, and absolute fidelity to life and manners. It is a strange commentary that this expedient of simplicity which has so long been employed in other arts with the best effect, should have been so long delayed in the art of acting. That it has been delayed until Mr. Warfield recognized its efficiency is a fact obvious enough to the discerning observer of the stage to-day and of yesterday.

There are few actors—and there were even less—who can resist the temptation to be grandiloquent. Indeed, the stage for a long time has been looked to for the display of a certain grandiose beauty (?) making stilted speech necessary for the more or less turgent display. But while actors have changed their methods with the changing of taste, they seem to be unwilling or unable entirely to divest their manners and speech of this influence of stage tradition. David Warfield has absolutely ignored such tradition. He says he does not know "technique," and he disagrees with William Winter in that veteran critic's contention that "acting is an exact science." And the actor seems to be proving his "theory." He has demonstrated the telling methods of simplicity. He holds the emotions of his audience in his voice, in his hands, as it were, and as he strikes the heart-strings, in just the right place, they respond and vibrate as positively as the strings on the musician's violin. The actor has found the big chord that binds humanity; he knows

where it is, how to strike it, and there is no doubt about the music it sounds. The manner of getting the effect may be called technique, if you like. He does not call it that. It certainly is art.

Yet it is, after all, the method that abides; it is the method, as I have said before, that is to change our acting and perhaps our very drama.

Warfield seeks his inspiration in *minutiae* from life of to-day. He, of all actors, veritably holds up "the mirror to nature." At the same time he proves that the mirrors other actors have handled, have reflected not nature, but—the stage. And the stage has held mostly fustian pictures. Warfield is showing American audiences the difference, and as these American audiences prefer the reproduction of nature to the retouched pictures of the stage, it seems that they will insist upon other artists leaving the stage gallery and passing into the garden, the city streets, the farm and the factories, to breathe their inspiration and to seek their models.

#### WARFIELD'S PLAYS.

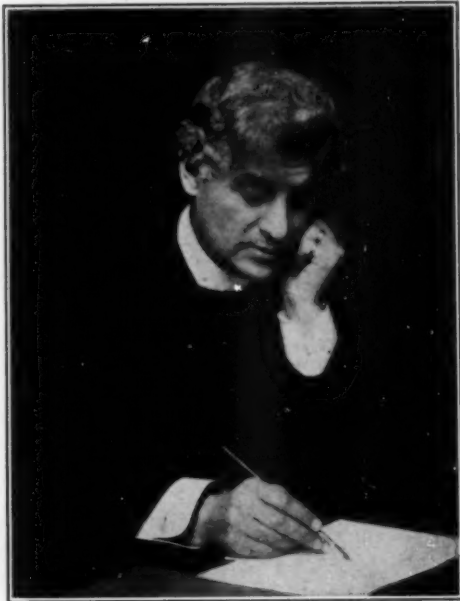
The three plays which Mr. Warfield acted since he became a star, to say the least, have lacked the perfection that has marked his acting. He has been acting in "legitimate drama" for about eight years. Before his *début* as a star under David Belasco's direction he was a favorite in musical comedy, in which his specialty was a New York East-Side Jew, which, even in those days of burlesque, he took from life. The announcement at that time that David Warfield was to become a star in a drama calculated to draw tears, caused smiles and laughter and astonishment. It was quite as surprising as would be a statement made to-day announcing Joe Weber as Hamlet. There were a few careful observers who were not surprised. One of these was George Ade, who was perhaps the first writer to predict success for Warfield in serious acting. And Ade was not joking then. That was almost fifteen years ago



in Chicago, where Ade was reporting for a daily newspaper, and Warfield was playing in musical farce. But more of Warfield's earlier history at another time. A word or two now about the three plays that have made fortunes for the actor, the authors and his manager.

"The Auctioneer," which is pleasantly remembered as the comedy that served to introduce Warfield as a star, was flimsy in its material and crude enough as a play. It was cruder still when the original manuscript fell into the hands of that expert of dramatic values, that past-master of modern stagecraft, that artistic genius, and unique American manager, David Belasco—he who "discovered" and gave David Warfield his first opportunity. It was David Belasco who saw lurking in the Jew's supercilious grin a note of wistfulness; the uncouth, shuffling, funny walk left behind a shadow of pathos. No one but David Belasco seemed to see this. All that the light-hearted spectators of the Weber and Fields shows could see in Warfield was a wretched, sidewalk Jew who was funny, who made them laugh. They did not appreciate the contrasts, the lights and shades. They saw, and only wanted to see, the lights. That is why they were surprised when they learned that "Dave Warfield was going with Belasco—the d— fool!"

Belasco knew what was wanted for Warfield's first starring venture. He called in Charles Klein and Lee Arthur, who in a brief time turned in a play which was called "The Auctioneer." It was quite a bad play. But Belasco Belascoed it. He ripped it into shreds, threw many of the shreds away, manufactured some of his own, and sewed them together again. Naturally it was patchy but it proved a very effective vehicle for Mr. Warfield, who, to the astonishment of even his sincerest friends, scored heavily. The miracle happened; he succeeded in making an American audience weep, and Belasco and Warfield wrote: *Quod erat demon-*



DAVID BELASCO.

*strandum.* Then they set about to prove another proposition.

Belasco commissioned Charles Klein to write another play for Warfield which was to be more serious and give to the star larger opportunities. Mr. Belasco and Mr. Klein "got together." Mr. Klein took a pretty story, a popular theme, and a few characters and shook them up thoroughly. Out came a play called "The Music Master." (I am inclined to believe that the title is Belasco's).

"The Music Master," as it is being acted to-day, is not the best example of play-writing. It has little or nothing to do with "life's criticisms." It is technically faulty. But it tells a tender story; it abounds in sweet sentiment, and is over-bubbling with fine human nature, and that, with David Warfield in it, seems to suffice for the public.

Now some truths, for the first time, regarding "The Music Master." When the play came to David Belasco, it was, like the first script of "The Auctioneer,"



ACT I.—"THE MUSIC MASTER."

sadly in need of reconstruction. Many persons have observed or thought they saw, Belasco's touches in "The Music Master." They saw rightly. Not only are his "touches" there, but the structure contains many of his bricks. Yet, beautiful as the little play is to-day—for it is beautiful, not forgetting all its faults—it would be impossible without David Warfield enacting the principal rôle. Again to the satisfaction of everybody, Belasco can write Q. E. D.

"A GRAND ARMY MAN."

Warfield's next step forward was made with "A Grand Army Man" with which the actor dedicated, a year ago last October, Belasco's new, artistic theater, the Stuyvesant, in New York.

The play, the joint work of David Belasco, Pauline Phelps and Marion

Short, pictures the rustic's world, this time located in a little Indiana village about twenty years after the Civil War. Its types are true, the story is human, the emotions are elemental, and the sunshine which the deft Belasco spreads over the little country town is warm and real. While the clouds gather and cast their shadows in due theatric course, the effect is poetic and charming.

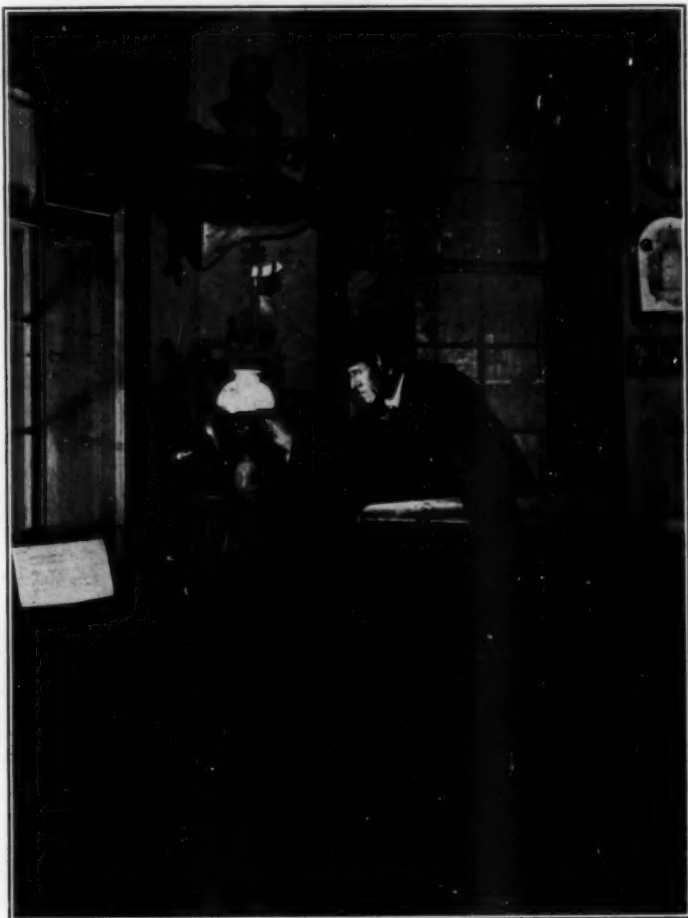
There is a difference of opinion regarding the comparative merits of "A Grand Army Man" and "The Music Master." Some of the public prefer it to the Klein play, while others will not accept it at all. The majority of critical writers place it above the latter. Indeed, there is no doubt in the minds of the critics, that, technically at least, "A Grand Army Man" surpasses "The Music Master." Warfield himself made no mistake artis-

tically when he consented to enact "A Grand Army Man." It affords him opportunities he lacked in his other plays. He revealed in "West Bigelow" the post commander, emotions he had no chance to show in "von Barwig," the music master. "A Grand Army Man" is on the border-line of tragedy, and there is at least one moment when Warfield shows you its darkest depths. The character of Bigelow is more vigorous, less poetic, and truer than "von Barwig," the gentle, cultivated old musician who almost personifies the love of St. Paul.

One critic seeks to explain why "A Grand Army Man" is not so popular as "The Music Master." He says:

"There is nothing in the world so appallingly gripping on your sensibility as a view of the stark-naked truth. It is with such a portrait that David Warfield enthralled and really terrified us at the closing portion of the second act of "A Grand Army Man."

Other critics have declared "A Grand Army Man" commonplace. But is there not life, tragedy and poetry in the things we call the commonplace of our existence? The Greeks touched commonplace things for real beauty and for artistic contrasts; and Ibsen found strength and beauty in every-day persons and dramatic vitality



ACT III.—"THE MUSIC MASTER."

in their every-day speech. The critic quoted above continues:

"The scene was of but two persons. The ruined son stood before the idolizing father, a confessed thief. The father's heart was shredded with agony and frenzied with impotent rage. The lines uttered by each were commonplaces, such as what we call commonplace persons use every one of the commonplace days which form existence. The father makes the son shed his coat, and, taking a whip in his hands, he lashes the youth, one cutting, whistling, cruel bite of the cord. The lad gives no whimper, not a muscle

flinches. Then the two gaze into each other's eyes for a moment, and they find their way into each other's arms. 'I'll stand by you, my boy,' comes from the father's sobbing lips. That's all there is to it; but in those two moments, Mr. Warfield drops the plummet of his art into the darkest, grimmest depths of tragedy. It is the soul-breaking *Ædipus*, all the horrors of life's horrors of Hamlet, and yet triumphantly conquering the blackness which has conquered the very being of the two, there is the supreme saving beauty of love. That was where Mr. Warfield lifted the curtain which we jealously use to guard our eyes from verity. Flicking from before our vision all notes and false perspectives, he showed us, as I said, the most terrible, beautiful fact in our lives—Truth, naked, without a single garment of falsity. Probably few . . . will believe the assertion, but the play is a thousand miles ahead of 'The Music Master,' and as a consequence, the acting is more than that measure better."

WARFIELD'S SUCCESS MEASURED FINAN-  
CIALLY.

That American theater-goers welcome the new art as exemplified by David Warfield, to the acting of the older "school," and prefer a drama of sweetness and humanity to one of unpleasant problems and smart epigram, has been proven by Warfield's tremendous financial success in the three plays David Belasco selected for him. Warfield in "The Auctioneer," as I have said, made a fortune for himself and managers, for at that time the theatrical syndicate, although having no investment in the production, and nothing to do except book the tour, "declared themselves in" on the profits. That was one of the direct causes of David Belasco breaking away from the theatrical trust and conducting his affairs with absolute independence. This fight which he and the Fiskes have waged so vigorously and courageously, has cost the independent managers a great deal of money, for at times they have been forced to play their

attractions in inferior theaters of small capacity, and compelled to make "long jumps," involving additional railroad expense. But they have not surrendered, and their positions to-day (artistically, at least) are high above their commercial opponents.

The success of Warfield in "The Music Master" has been really phenomenal. For the length of his New York run (covering three seasons and portions of a fourth and a fifth) and attendance *en tour*, as registered in the box-offices, he has broken all records in the history of the American stage. Two seasons ago, in the spacious Academy of Music in New York, during an engagement of four weeks his business averaged nearly \$25,000 a week. This is the record for that theater, and, in fact, for any dramatic engagement ever held in this country. The previous record was credited to Booth and Barrett, who played their farewell engagement, in repertoire, at the Academy in 1888, the box-office statements for the two weeks' engagement showing an average weekly business of about \$20,500. After a run of three seasons in New York, Warfield played engagements in a few of the largest cities and again made new records for attendance. In several cities there was almost rioting among the crowds that besieged the box-offices to buy tickets. In Pittsburgh, Chicago, Philadelphia, Columbus, Cleveland, Cincinnati, Kansas City and other cities, the line of humanity, in most instances extending over a full city block, waited in front of the theaters from eight to twenty-four hours to buy seats. This season Warfield played engagements in San Francisco (his native city) and Los Angeles, the only engagements there since his early starring days. In San Francisco "the line" formed twenty-four hours before the sale began, and in Los Angeles forty-six hours. In each of these cities the local newspapers gave amusing accounts of these enthusiastic patrons of the drama, waiting their turn at the box-office. But they were not all "patrons of the drama," for Warfield





"A GRAND ARMY MAN."

attracts persons who seldom, if ever, frequent the theater. The remarkable part of all this enthusiasm, manifested before the actor and play are seen, is that it does not grow less as the audience's anticipation has been realized. It would seem that when one's hopes have been raised so high as to submit to the discomfort of standing on the street for hours, disappointment would eventually be his share. But instead they are so deeply impressed with Warfield's art that their enthusiasm increases and they go again and urge their friends to go.

And thus it is proven that art, like truth, "pays."

#### AS TO THE FUTURE.

It is interesting to contemplate what results Mr. Warfield will obtain when he carries his art into the classic realm. For

it is announced by Belasco that Warfield soon will enact Shylock, and, if successful, will try King Lear. Mr. Warfield recently confided to the writer his conception of "The Merchant of Venice" and the methods he will employ in the enactment of this popular Shakespearian rôle. Of course he will be true to himself and depend only on his own conception and ideas.

From what I know of Mr. Warfield's methods of study and interpretation, I would say his proposed portrayal will be a creation. He says:

"When the time comes for active study, I shall approach the part as if it were absolutely new, and the play had never before been produced. I shall be neither guided nor influenced by tradition. If I succeed or fail, I alone shall accept the responsibility, for I shall not lean on any

other actor's conception or interpretation, no matter how firmly these ideas may have taken root in the public mind. It may transpire that my ideas will coincide with others that have gone before; it is possible they will substantially diverge. (Personally, I think they will diverge—very materially.)

"The Merchant of Venice" is catalogued as a comedy. I shall bear that fact in mind, and endeavor to act the part in the lighter vein. Shylock, I think, was a man with a fine sense of humor, which fact will afford splendid opportunity for much delicate, delightful comedy. Instead of acting the part with a constant sense of gloom and tragedy, I shall endeavor to unfold it with a less weighty, brighter-hued mantle. I can see the tragic moods as reliefs for the comedy; not the converse.

"In the physical aspects I shall, of course, suggest the Merchant's Semitic characteristics. While I appreciate these physical values, I also believe, as did Edwin Booth, that Shylock was an aristocrat. He retains his pride even when his spirit is crushed. This psychological development, which comes at the end of the trial, can be portrayed in various ways. I do not think that dejection, despair and grief are best expressed by a tottering form, which, to me, suggests decrepitude rather than the emotions mentioned."

But in this phase of Shakespeare's drama, as well as in every other phase, Mr. Warfield tells me he will consult life and human nature and employ some of the restraint which he deems a better form of art, as well as a most common expression of human life. In all the expedencies of the art of acting, Mr. Warfield will seek his inspiration from life. He will endeavor to cast the dialogue of Shylock in a natural voice and avoid stilted speech. He believes the elegance of Shakespeare's diction, the authority and beauty of his blank verse can all be retained if the key is transposed to a pitch common to every-day utterance.

"And why not?" asked Mr. Warfield.

"Shylock was a man of every-day life and business habits. He was not an orator or a poet, or a lawyer, and he had no ideas of acting or school-boy declamations. He was a business man, a philosopher and—a human being!"

And now these questions are asked:

Will any of Shakespeare's characters be reduced in poetic atmosphere by making them more genuine? Will they be any the less enjoyable if they are made more real by the introduction of—nature?

#### MR. WARFIELD'S VIEWS ON THE DRAMA.

Of all dramatic writings Mr. Warfield loves most the plays of Shakespeare, or dramatic poems, as he more correctly calls the Avon bard's dramatic works. He finds more enjoyment to-day in Shakespeare than in any other reading. Yet he thinks the best material for dramatist and actor is to be found in American life of to-day. He finds no place on the stage for certain poetic dramas. These sentiments Mr. Warfield recently expressed in a paper which he read before a literary society in Los Angeles:

"Theater-goers," he said, "seem to want a drama of humanity. By that I mean a play containing characters one meets in this life of to-day—characters that have the same kind of heart-throbs, the same kind of tears, the same kind of love, and the same genuine laughter that you and I have. Plays must be peopled with human beings. And you prefer, I have observed, the human beings that live next door, or around the corner. Some might live in palaces, some in cottages, or huts. Some might work with hands and hearts, some with mind only, and some might not work at all. The last kind is too uninteresting to discuss, and he is not wanted in drama any more than he is wanted in society. Some are worthy, whether rich or poor, some are unworthy.

"But each plays his part in the drama of life, each is endowed with flesh and blood, love and hate, goodness and badness. And this is the kind of person,



"A GRAND ARMY MAN."

alive and breathing, with every-day speech that must provide the psychology, the life and poetry, of the successful drama. The successful drama must have, fundamentally, psychology, life and poetry, and I believe these elements can be more forcefully used for drama, when taken from the life and the age that we all know.

"We need not go back to past ages for stage figures. We need not try to lift them from the sacred pages of the great poets. If we do, we leave the poem soiled and the poet's name scarred. As a rule, the poet's ideal cannot be realized on the stage. There is no ethereal actor. No one can soar with Pegasus as gracefully as the poet. We actors are of flesh and blood like you. We can suggest poetry by portraying life, but we cannot make a thing breathe that is only a fantasy or a phantom. No, dear friends,

let the beautiful, elusive creations of those great minds lie where they belong—within the peaceful leaves of the library shelf, where one may enjoy them at his pleasure.

"There are interesting persons to be found along the social paths we trod to-day. There is poetry in the life on the farm, in the little cottage, even among the sordid factories, if we look for it. And this poetry the playwright and the author can express, if he be an observer of life and a poet. The persons of to-day have temperaments, character and habits so deviating, that the drama they are placed in need not necessarily suffer from a paucity of psychology, physical monotony, or lack of variety, in social conduct.

"Sometimes there is less poetry in blank verse and rhymed verse than there is in prose, and the day of the drama of

stilted speech and artificial life and action, I think, has passed.

"And it has been proved that smart epigram and brilliant wit cannot make a successful drama if a wholesome, human element be lacking. You have seen play after play, of the vulgar or salacious kind, perish after a mere ephemeral flash of success. What drama ever endured that depended upon sensation or morbidity to attract? The healthy mind, my friends, is as dominant in the theater as much as goodness is dominant in the world.

"The first and most essential element for successful drama is humanity. We must have some smiles and a few tears, because life, you know, is not all smiles, and we have agreed that drama must portray life. Secondly, a drama, to enjoy prosperity and lasting popularity, must convey a sermon or teach a lesson. The drama is a fine, eloquent force for good and it must have a message. To me the most potent message in life to-day is the message of love.

"One goes to the theater, I know, to be amused, to forget the strife and struggle of our poor existence. But he goes also for thought and reflection. Let us, then, have both laughter and tears in our drama.

"Your evening in the theater has been well spent, indeed, if you have been amused and if you leave it feeling better toward humanity. The brotherhood of man makes a pretty fine creed. Laughter and tears—well, the laughter will tonic you and the tears will chasten. Then, the message has been delivered. The author and actor have served,

"To wake the soul by tender strokes of art,  
To raise the genius and to mend the heart,  
To make mankind in conscious virtue bold,  
Live o'er each scene, and be what they behold;  
For this the tragic muse first trod the stage,  
Commanding tears to stream through every age."

#### IN PRIVATE LIFE.

In private life David Warfield shows the temperament and taste of the artist, combined with the sanity and poise of the business man. His married life is very

happy because Mrs. Warfield, a cultivated lady (also a Californian), fortunately has the tastes and sympathies of her husband. He has a beautiful home, an apartment in Central Park West, New York, furnished in exquisite taste. He is acquiring gradually a splendid collection of pictures, which includes several worthy American pieces and a few old-world masters.

There is perhaps nothing material in life that gives David Warfield greater joy than his art treasures. He loves, with the passion of a poet, an altar cloth of the renaissance. He can sit almost for hours before his Gainsborough or a plaintive study by Francis Murphy, or a colorful fancy of a favorite Japanese artist, and be happy. The turmoil of the city, the strife of business, he detests.

His love of home, his sentimental nature, his wistful regard of "the old days" in San Francisco where he was a poor boy, are crystalized in an address he made at a dinner given recently in his honor by the famous Bohemian Club of San Francisco. These sentiments perhaps throw more light on the nature of the real David Warfield than any incident that I could relate:

"Home again!

"There's a big meaning in that little word—*Home!* We go out into the world, clasp, maybe for the last time, the hands of those we have played with, worked with, and loved; we bid good-bye to 'the old street,' and the country roads and the green fields, and the very trees that have grown into our lives; and away we go with our little parcel of hopes and doubts into a new life, a new land—a land of new faces, new scenes, of strife and struggle. We march onward, along the main road, or into the little by-ways, and our backs are turned on the old life. We mingle, we struggle; we stumble and rise—rise and fall, but onward we creep, and Home is so far away. But never do we lose sight of a little star in the far, far west. It is always there, and often have we paused and looked at it. In joy and



in sorrow we look into the west, long and wistfully. And whether we cease our struggles and pause for a breath, or whether we go on, that glow of the western star brings peace. We at last know that real happiness is not reached until we are on the final journey where the star beckons, and at last we turn back. We are going home again, and we are happy!

"Gentlemen, we have all climbed the mountains of life—great or small, we know that when we are on the top of one,

we see others rise far above us. Every summit we reach, we rest awhile—and think of home. While there are mountains and mountains always on my horizon, I do not want to climb many more. I want to come home. I want to live the autumn of my life here. I want to pass my final winter in San Francisco. I want to rest forever in her bosom."

LAWRENCE HALL,

*New York City.*

## HARMONIZING OUR DUAL GOVERNMENT.

By J. W. BENNETT.

AMERICA has reached a point in industrial and political evolution where its dual government must adapt itself to new conditions. The Federal government must cease to interfere with the state in its dealing with state problems. We must realize that the Federal government is an institution of the American people intended to deal with national problems only in the affairs of the American people. State governments, on the other hand, must continue to be regarded as other but no less important institutions of the American people designed to deal with other affairs of the American people no less important than their national affairs. There is no occasion for cross-purposes on the part of state and Federal governments, except the cunning manipulations of predatory interests, and the vaulting ambition of unwise and self-seeking politicians. Federal and state action must be harmonized so as to be mutually helpful in dealing with American problems, rather than clashingly antagonistic and mutually destructive. This problem of making the most effective use of our governmental instruments, is a very important, a most pressing problem.

Our forefathers of 1787 were confronted

with a new governmental condition. Thirteen colonies, each too weak to combat the arrogant, autocratic tyranny of England, had been held in more or less effective association through a great war. They had emerged thirteen independent states. Real dangers still threatened from without. Savages were strong on the western, northern and southern borders. England, beaten for the time, had not finally given up hope of bringing her former colonies again into subjection.

United, the thirteen colonies might meet those dangers from without. That fact had been demonstrated in the great war just closed. But each of the thirteen states was historically, physically, politically, and to some extent, socially and industrially, a unit, in full control of its own affairs. To retain control over its own affairs, each state had fought that great war. Local self-government was a thing none of these states would think of relinquishing, even for the prize of security for external dangers. Wisely did the people of these little independent states conclude that giving up local self-government would be giving up self-government, ultimately.

With the men of 1787, the problem in

the constitutional convention was to preserve state integrity and at the same time to build up such a union of the states as to make all and each secure against external dangers. External dangers were of two kinds, (a) menace from enemies without the borders of the states; (b) friction among the states themselves.

It was a new problem in the world's history, but the men of 1787 were constructive statesmen. They had the enterprise, intelligence and courage to leave the beaten track of political experiment and to invent and install something essentially new in government.

Obviously, the conditions of the problem called for a dual government. States must be left in full control of their domestic or local affairs. To the democrats of the convention, such as Franklin and Mason, such control promised the very best practical results in domestic or local administration. It brought government close to the citizen and fully under his control, and tended to build up a strong, self-reliant citizenship, the only sure foundation for living, lasting democracy.

Men of aristocratic governmental theory, like Hamilton and Morris—men who distrusted the rank and file and regarded the best government, the government farthest removed from and least influenced by the governed, found fault with the arrangement. Finally, they were obliged to admit, that, right or wrong, wise or unwise, no national government could then be established which did not leave the internal or local affairs of the states in the full control of the states.

While undoubtedly a majority of the convention sympathized with the Hamiltonian theory, this majority had no illusions as to the temper of the people of the states on this point. Therefore they built their national structure on the foundation of state integrity. A dual government was therefore established on the theory of leaving local or internal affairs to the states while giving the new Union jurisdiction over the external relations of the states to one another and the relation

of the new nation as a whole to the outside world. In order to leave no open question as to the authority of the states in local affairs the national government was made one of express powers, specifically enumerated, while to the states was reserved the residue of authority, not expressly delegated. Above all, and superior to both, were the passive sovereignties, the undelegated executive and ministerial attributes of the people. Such limitation of the scope of general governmental authority, the men of 1787 knew also to be necessary in order to secure a ratification of the new constitution by the people of the states.

This work was done with mental reservation. No more able, patriotic or disinterested political body ever assembled than these men of 1787. Still they were human. Sincere aristocratic theorists, in the main, their political beliefs almost unconsciously colored their work. They could not get away entirely from the mistakes of the past. Into the new constitution were placed a number of provisions out of harmony with its general purpose. Checks and balances were introduced largely to place a curb upon democracy. At the time these checks did not seem dangerous. Later they were productive of much woe.

Placing the interpretation of the national constitution in the hands of an appointive, irresponsible Federal judiciary proved the most dangerous of these provisions. It was the thin edge of the wedge which has ever since been separating the people from the control of their own governmental affairs.

Interpretation of constitutions and laws meant to the reactionary and autocratic Marshall, nullification of laws of which the judiciary did not approve. It mattered not that the constitutional convention had specifically and repeatedly denied this power to the Federal courts. Seizing minor and obscure provisions of the national constitution, such as the clause against impairment of the obligation of contracts, Marshall and his associates of

the United States Supreme Court took upon themselves the nullifying of state laws relating to state affairs exclusively. Minor courts, as time advanced, arrogated to themselves the power usurped by the Supreme Court. Men holding appointments to minor judicial station, have now become irresponsible potentates who assume to annul by autocratic will the solemn legislative acts of great states, relating exclusively to state or local affairs. A little Federal judge of the 449th judicial district, fresh from his triumphs at the bar in the service of predatory corporations, can do a thing denied by the men of 1787 to the President, the cabinet and the Supreme Court. For it was decided by the constitutional convention that none of these nor all of these together should have a final veto upon legislative acts. Not even Congress and the President were permitted to nullify the legislative acts of the states. And these autocratic judicial powers are exercised largely in favor of artificial persons and in derogation of the rights of individuals and the public at large.

As a result states are prevented from protecting themselves or their people from predatory interests. The national government has neither the power nor the inclination to protect them. In every Federal judicial district in the United States a judge is keeping a robbers' sanctuary where predatory interests, state threatened, find safe retreat. Caught battenning upon the substance of cities and states and brought to the bar of justice, these predatory interests have but to fly the protecting ægis of the Federal courts. Its injunction, like a mantle of mercy, is ready to cover their offenses.

Cautiously for a time under the cloak of the Interstate Commerce clause in the constitution, this Federal power was interposed between the states and the public-service corporations which they were trying to control. Franchises founded upon bribery and corruption were held sacred under the clause against impairment of contract obligations, a clause never in-

tended for such unholy service. Recently the power of courts in this regard has developed mightily. American citizens, mistaking partisanship for patriotism, and clamorous audacity for statesmanship, have forced the national legislature to become an echo of the executive will. Federal courts, largely under executive influence, have bound and gagged the states in the interest of the pickpockets of privilege. Federal executives with feverish haste have been developing a bureaucracy which is to take supreme control of local as well as national affairs.

Federal bureaus will control transportation, banking, mines, forests, streams, telegraphs, manufactures, miscellaneous corporations. By Federal executive will we would have the corporation sheep separated from the corporation goats. Good trusts will be carefully nurtured and developed by a beneficent bureau, bad trusts condemned and driven into outer darkness.

These things and many others are already in sight. In the light of precedent, a Federal question can be raised in almost every judicial contest, and if a halt be not called, we shall have Federal bureaus controlling our street railways, our gas, our electric-lights, our water-powers, our municipal water supplies. Multiplying public problems growing out of our ever greater complexity of life, must be met and solved by some one. If Federal courts prevent local and state government from dealing with them, the public will fatuously permit Federal bureaus to take control.

Thus are our affairs, one by one, turned over to an elective autocrat, to be handled by a Federal bureau acting under executive will. All governmental authority is being concentrated in Washington out of reach of the people and out of their control. And this is just the danger point of the whole situation. If the people could keep effective control of the government at Washington, and if the government could be organized so as to deal permanently and adequately with local

matters in a manner to keep up the full virility of citizenship, we need have no misgivings. But he who runs may see that national affairs have gone almost wholly out of the hands of the people. Their public servants have become their masters. Local affairs are fast following the same road. Irresponsible Federal executive bureaus are reaching out, eagerly undertaking to do the things which the people themselves alone can do.

In other words the scope of authority of the respective arms in our dual government is undergoing a revolutionary change. Instead of harmonizing the dual government, and developing the latent strength in both its arms, so that it shall have two strong deft hands to work with, the whole effort of parties, politicians, and even officers, is to weaken and hamper the strong right arm of state efficiency and power and give over details of local government to one clumsy left hand benumbed by Federal bureaucracy. No longer are state affairs left to the states. No longer do we distinguish between problems properly within the scope of Federal authority and problems, Federal interference with which means mischievous failure.

For a time even a bureaucracy may be reasonably efficient in dealing with matters strictly national, especially with international relations. But if every member of a Federal bureau acting from Washington had Solomon wisdom and saint-like unselfishness and devotion, the bureau, in our democracy, would still make a dismal failure of state affairs. Only intimate local relations by people immediately concerned can meet the complexity of these local problems. Officers must know them, even feel them, in order to cope with them.

Our Interstate Commerce Commission has demonstrated this fact. Twenty years of its misguided activities have left the railways, everything considered, getting more from the people than ever before and giving less in return. In the meantime the thing attempted by this

bureau has been an excuse for the Federal courts preventing states from dealing adequately with their own railway problems.

Even if Federal bureaus could cope with these complex problems for a time, the result would be a destruction of citizenship which in a generation would leave no foundation for enlightened democratic government; for citizens, like their own good right arms, are kept strong and efficient only by exercise and use. If we are to have a living Republic we must restore the component parts of our dual government, each to the activities of its own proper sphere. Local affairs must be left absolutely in the hands of the states and their constituent municipalities; national affairs in the hands of the nation. Each must be so organized as to help, not hinder, the activities of the other in its own proper sphere, but to prevent mutual encroachments.

Democracy's salvation is local strength. Predatory interests can control a central government far from the source of power, much more easily than a multitude of local governmental organizations close to their citizenship and fully controlled by the people. What Tom L. Johnson and his followers have accomplished in Cleveland, or Senator LaFollette and his supporters have accomplished in Wisconsin, each for his own constituency, could never be accomplished for the whole nation by the national government. Oregon has done more for democratic development in the past few years than the Federal government has done since the Civil War. States and municipalities are governmental laboratories through which strong and advanced citizenship can react upon the whole nation. There is plenty for the Federal government to do without interfering in local affairs.

In order to hold the Federal and the local governments respectively to their proper spheres of activity, we must do what was done by the men of 1787—apply devices adapted to the work in hand. Forms of a hundred years ago in gov-



ernment are as likely to be out of date as the mechanical devices in the industry of a hundred years ago. Thinking men are coming more and more to realize that we are not dealing with public *problems* so much as we are dealing with a public *problem* in our government. So intimately are our political, social and industrial evils connected each with the other that they are recognized by our greatest thinkers as similar local manifestations of the same great problem. At the bottom this is the problem of democracy, the problem of equality of civic rights and opportunities between men.

Every state in the Union and every city in every state has a railway problem. The national railway problem is made up of these nation-wide local problems. One phase is vital to each community, one manifestation, and each community must be in position to deal adequately with this phase. Everybody of every state has a most vital interest in seeing that the railways are used as highways of transportation and managed with that end in view, rather than that they are exploited as instruments of gain for predatory individuals, or cliques of individuals.

Warring state and national commissions each jealously set upon trying to gather to itself all power, can never solve the railway problem. These dual agencies must be harmonized so as to be mutually helpful before they can control offending corporation interests. For transportation interests make it a business of playing one against the other, and thus defeating both. It needs no argument to show that local authorities conversant with all the details of the local situation can deal more effectively with the local phases of the railway problem than can a distant Federal bureau. The Federal government has plenty to do in harmonizing and strengthening the action of the states in dealing with the great problem. This is not theory alone. Germany has demonstrated the method.

If the railway commission is the correct instrument for the control of transporta-

tion by the government, then we must create an efficient railway commission. It must be able to deal with each local phase of the problem as well as the national situation. The indicated method is plain enough:

Each state must elect a railway commission or a railway commissioner. These commissioners must organize into a national commission under the chairmanship of a cabinet officer. This commission must have in its hands supervision over the enforcement of all transportation laws, state and national. Each member will remain subject to the control of the governor of his state and also to the President of the United States.

Such organization will leave no "twilight zone," no "no man's land," for railway corporation dodgers. Its effect would be to harmonize state and national interests rather than set them warring with one another.

This is the indicated application of our dual governmental system to our transportation problem. And it would apply as well to a system of government ownership as it would to a system of government control. Such a national commission would find interest and duty combined in harmonizing state and national authority, and making both effective, each in its proper sphere. It would apply to banks or insurance companies as well as to railways. But always it must be kept in mind that such bodies would remain executive, not in any sense legislative or judicial bodies.

One thing further must be done to harmonize the dual government in dealing with such problems. That, too, is clearly indicated. In our dual government the minor Federal courts have been the disturbing element. We must modify their organization so that they shall cease to disturb. Minor Federal courts must be abolished and their jurisdiction given over to the courts of record of the states. It would be foolish and cumbersome to have a dual elective judiciary. But it is intolerable in a republic to have an appointive

Federal judiciary bent upon destroying the principle of local self-government as these minor Federal courts are bent upon destroying it.

State courts are just as learned, just as competent, just as securely bound by national laws and the national constitution. But they are not in position to ignore state laws and local interests. They will deal more understandingly and sympathetically with the legal problems before them, upholding, where possible, both state and national acts, instead of using one as an excuse for nullifying the other.

The third step is to prevent all judges from nullifying legislative acts. This must be done by a constitutional amendment making possible the final passing upon all laws by the people themselves, and giving laws approved by the people constitutional sanction equal in authority to the sanction of the original constitution. That is difficult, but it must be done. The business of the courts is to interpret the law and apply it to specific cases, not to nullify and defeat it. Courts have nothing to do with the wisdom or unwisdom of the laws themselves.

These are suggestions merely for harmonizing the application of our dual gov-

ernmental agencies to the modern problems of government. We would throw back upon the people the responsibility for meeting and solving the great problem in its local as well as its national manifestations.

When the men of 1787 made the Federal constitution, a central government might have looked after all the affairs of the American people with reasonable efficiency. At that time the problem of governing the thirteen states was less complicated than the present problem of governing the state of New York.

As the nation grew, and its life became more and more complex, government by central authority became more and more difficult. Now it is utterly impossible under the Republic. There never was such crying need for state integrity as there is to-day, never less need for "strong" central government. External dangers have almost disappeared. Our great problems are internal problems which can be met only by a strong and efficient citizenship. In the Republic a strong and efficient citizenship can be developed only by carrying to its utmost the principle of local self-government.

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## BROWNING'S THEORY OF LOVE AS DEVELOPED IN HIS LYRICAL POEMS.

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TO THOSE interested in the literature of the nineteenth century, probably no remark is more trite than the statement that in Robert Browning's work the personal opinion of that author cannot be discovered. Indeed, Browning himself more than once insisted that his poems were to be regarded, not as expressions of his own thought, but as "so many utterances of so many imag-

inary persons." Now it must be admitted that this manifesto has to be accepted, before one can come to any true appreciation of the writer who is generally considered the most obscure of English poets; but it should not be construed to mean, as some maintain, that every one of his poems exists in a state of isolation with respect to every other. The great esoteric teachings of Brown-

ing, on the contrary,—those teachings which give the higher uplift, the broader outlook,—are found not so frequently precipitated in individual poems as diffused through many. It is not the lover of here and there a poem, who has an adequate conception of Browning's thought; rather, it is the man who looks upon that author's work as from a Pisgah height, and comes to regard it as a land flowing with milk and honey.

Nevertheless, lovers of Browning, led sometimes by Browning himself, have often united in an outcry against those who have attempted to show that a theory of any kind whatsoever is developed in his poetry. But Browning is by no means the first of whom it may be said, "He builded better than he knew." No man, not even a Browning, can speak finally upon the content of his own work, or define absolutely its limits. Unknown to himself he may be adding to his conscious enunciations a message of which he alone is God-chosen to be the bearer. Let him, if he will, consider the work of his commentators as food for laughter; it still remains true that the plodding, careful intellect will often interpret the utterances of a genius to that genius himself.

Admirers of Browning agree in claiming that he was remarkably successful in analyzing the heart of man. Almost without number are the problems of life and mind which he examined from the point-of-view of some real or fictitious character. The question of immortality, the meaning of life, the teachings of Christianity, the use of suffering,—in fact, almost every thought or feeling of which man is capable, was at some time and in some way the object of his scrutiny. One expects to find, therefore, and does find, indeed, that Browning was especially minute in his examination of the passion of love—that emotion which more than any other sways the world. A large number of the important poems deal either directly or indirectly with the subject; but while the longer works, such as "The Ring and the Book," "The Blot in

the 'Scutcheon,'" and "Sordello," use some form of love as a motif; it is in the shorter poems that one finds the fullest treatment of the various phases of that passion. In attempting, therefore, to determine what theory of love is developed in Robert Browning's work, one's attention may without injustice be confined to a study of his lyrical poems.

Before entering directly upon the main subject, however, one is forced to dwell for at least a moment, upon Browning's theory of life; since the importance of love, the reason of its existence, and the way in which it should be regarded, become evident only when one sees the relation which love bears to life. Browning, then, in company with many other poets, ancient and modern, frequently states that our present life is but one link in a chain of existences:

"Ages past the soul existed,  
Here an age 't is resting merely,  
And hence fleets again for ages."

The future life, moreover, is not to be one of complete rest; it is to be one of action. Whatever may be the heights gained in this life, there are

"Other heights in other lives, God willing."

Nor are these several existences without connection. Each is an outgrowth of the one preceding it—

"When this life is ended, begins  
New work for the soul in another state,  
Where it strives and gets weary, loses and wins:  
Where the strong and the weak, this world's con-  
geries,  
Repeat in large what they practiced in small,  
Through life after life in unlimited series;  
Only the scale 's to be changed, that 's all."

If it be objected that Browning sometimes presents this theory tentatively, rather than absolutely; and that, therefore, it is not to be accepted as his own, it may be replied that he holds it as firmly as most people do their articles of faith, and that his occasional questioning of its truth is no more than is to be expected of the human reason.

With this explanation of life in mind, one passes readily in the investigation of

our author's theory of love to the questions: In Browning's opinion what importance should be attached to love? What relation does it bear to life? What is its nature? and, What effect does it have upon those whom it moves? In attempting to answer these inquiries the whole body of Browning's lyrical poems might be made subject to levy, but no greater number of quotations is really necessary than will establish the point under discussion; since it is true beyond a doubt that a superabundance of proof is a weariness to the flesh.

#### I. THE IMPORTANCE OF LOVE.

Browning everywhere insists that love is the greatest thing in the world. In "Love Among the Ruins," the lover gives in retrospect a picture of a grand old city, the inhabitants of which

"Breathed joy and woe  
Long ago;  
Lust of glory pricked their hearts up, dread of shame  
Struck them tame;  
And that glory and that shame alike, the gold  
Bought and sold."

Then he says that among the ruins of that ancient grandeur waits for him a girl with eager eyes and yellow hair.

"When I do come, she will speak not, she will stand,  
Either hand  
On my shoulder, give her eyes the first embrace  
Of my face,  
Ere we rush, ere we extinguish sight and speech  
Each on each.  
In one year they sent a million fighters forth  
South and North,  
And they built their gods a brazen pillar high  
As the sky,  
Yet reserved a thousand chariots in full force,  
Gold, of course.  
Oh, heart! Oh, blood that freezes! blood that burns!  
Earth's returns  
For whole centuries of folly, noise and sin.  
Shut them in,  
With their triumphs and their glories and the rest.  
Love is best."

In the poem entitled "In a Year," the speaker, a woman this time, exclaims:

"I had wealth and ease,  
Beauty, youth:  
Since my lover gave me love,  
I gave these."

"That was all I meant—  
To be just,  
And the passion I had raised,  
To content."

"Since he chose to change  
Gold for dust,  
If I gave him what he praised,  
Was it strange?"

In "Rudel to the Lady of Tripoli," are presented the words of a troubadour of the twelfth century, who, in his thought of his lady, is like the sunflower that, in its lost endeavor to live the life of the sun,

"Has parted, one by one,  
With all a flower's true graces, for the grace  
Of being but a foolish mimic sun,  
With ray-like florets round a disk-like face."

Then, as the poet pictures to himself her whom he loves, the fact that he has gained fame by his work becomes as nothing, and he says:

"I, French Rudel, choose for my device  
A Sunflower outspread like a sacrifice  
Before its idol . . . Say, men feed  
On songs I sing, and therefore bask the bees  
On my flower's breast as on a platform broad:  
But, as the flower's concern is not for these,  
But solely for the sun, so men applaud  
In vain this Rudel, he not looking here,  
But to the East—the East! Go say this, Pilgrim  
dear."

From the quotations given, it may be gathered that love is greater than glory, wealth, or fame. In "Dis Aliter Visum," the self-answering question is asked,

"What's the earth  
With all its art, verse, music worth  
Compared with love found, gained, and kept?"

So extracts might be multiplied in which love is weighed against the other things of this life, and is ever found to overbalance them. Love, therefore, according to Browning, is the chief gain in this world. It is the pearl of price for the purchase of which a man might well sell all that he hath; nay, more—it is of such value, that if a man would give all his house for love it would be utterly condemned.

#### II. THE RELATION OF LOVE AND LIFE.

The conclusion that love is to be looked upon as the most important of earthly



gains, naturally suggests the topic of the relation existing between love and life. If love in itself is of such surpassing value, it must needs have a vital connection with the soul's existence on this sphere. And this is exactly Browning's thought. Whatever has been learned by the soul in past existences, whatever may be learned in future ones,

"The true end, sole and single,  
It stops here for is, this love way,  
With some other soul to mingle.

"Else it loses what it lived for,  
And eternally must lose it;  
Better ends may be in prospect,  
Deeper blisses (if you choose it),  
But this life's end and this love bliss  
Have been lost."

Now since love is the one end and aim of this life, a rejection of love for reasons of worldly wisdom, or even for that which is blindly called duty, hinders the growth of the soul—becomes, in fact, a sin. This idea Browning presents over and over again. It is the prime teaching of "Bifurcation" and of "The Statue and the Bust"; but is perhaps best expressed in "Dis Aliter Visum." A woman is talking to a man who failed to grasp her love when he could. After recalling the life of their youth, and his failure to take what was his for the asking, she concludes:

"Now I may speak: you fool for all  
Your lore! Who made things plain in vain?  
What was the sea for? What, the gray  
Sad church, that solitary day,  
Crosses and graves and swallows' call?

"Was there naught better than to enjoy?  
No feat which, done, would make time break,  
And let us pent-up creatures through  
Into eternity, our due?  
No forcing earth teach heaven's employ?

"No wise beginning, here and now,  
What cannot grow complete (earth's feat)  
And heaven must finish, there and then?  
No tasting earth's true food for men,  
Its sweet in sad, its sad in sweet?

"No grasping at love, gaining a share  
O! the sole spark from God's life at strife  
With death, so, sure of range above  
The limits here? For us and love,  
Failures: but, when God fails, despair.

"This you call wisdom? . . .

The devil laughed at you in his sleeve!  
You know not? That I well believe,  
Or you had saved two souls: nay, four."

Browning furthermore instructs us that without love, life has no real meaning; or, in other words, that life begins only when one loves. In "The Statue and the Bust," a Duke asks the name of a lady—

"And lo, a blade for a knight's emprise  
Filled the empty sheath of a man.  
The Duke grew, straightway, brave and wise.

"He looked at her as a lover can,  
She looked at him, as one who awakes.  
The past was a sleep, and her life began."

One aspect of love must not be overlooked in this connection. Although love is the chief end of man and his whole duty and that which gives meaning to this life, it must not be supposed that reciprocation is necessary to make love of worth. While Browning would readily admit that a love without return is one that misses much happiness, he everywhere teaches that the great gain of love is in the loving. Such is the thought of the last stanza of "Cristina." The woman because of worldly wisdom has rejected love, but the man, reveling in his delight at what he has captured, exclaims:

"She has lost me, I have gained her;  
Her soul's mine: and thus, grown perfect,  
I shall pass my life's remainder.  
Life will just hold out the proving  
Both our powers, alone and blended:  
And then, come the next life quickly!  
This world's use will have been ended."

The same teaching is found also in "Evelyn Hope," but with this additional thought, that if love which, under other conditions, might burst into full bloom, cannot reach its full growth here, because of circumstances over which the lover and the loved one have no control, there will come a time for its full realization. In the poem just mentioned a man is sitting beside the dead body of a young girl, and asks himself if the love which he bears her is to be considered as of no account because of the difference in their ages. In his sorrow, he cries out:

"No, indeed! for God above  
Is great to grant, as mighty to make,  
And creates the love to reward the love:  
I claim you still, for own love's sake!

"Delayed it may be for more lives yet,  
Through worlds I shall traverse, not a few:  
Much is to learn, much to forget  
Ere the time be come for taking you.

"But the time will come—at last it will.

So, hush—I will give you this leaf to keep:  
See, I shut it inside the sweet, cold hand!  
There, that is our secret: go to sleep!  
You will wake, and remember, and understand."

The teaching of the last poem quoted is one on which Browning does not often dwell, possibly because he may have felt that such a combination of circumstances could seldom occur. But it is certain that Browning is constantly bringing before us the thought that the lovers of earth will be consciously reunited hereafter. Such is the only construction which can be put upon the concluding words of "Prospice." After the sharp pang of death, the speaker says:

"And the elements' rage, the fiend-voices that rave,  
Shall dwindle, shall blend,  
Shall change, shall become first, a peace out of pain,  
Then a light, then thy breast,  
O thou soul of my soul! I shall clasp thee again,  
And with God be the rest!"

At times, as in the poem entitled "Speculative," Browning seems to think that this reunion of lovers will be the supreme bliss of heaven, but in stronger moments, because they are moments of broader and intenser love, he implies that our future lives will be states in which the lover may still bring all his gains to lay them at his beloved's feet. In one of the poems recognizably personal, Browning says:

"I stand on my attainment.  
This of verse alone, one life allows me;  
Verse and nothing else have I to give you.  
Other heights in other lives, God willing:  
All the gifts from all the heights, your own, Love!"

In summing up Browning's ideas with respect to the relations existing between love and life, it may be said that he looks upon love as the chief end, the main duty, and the only solution of life. Morally considered, the rejection of love becomes

a sin, because such an act hinders the growth of the soul, and is the wanton waste of something which cannot again be had. In rare instances, it is possible that the chance for a realization of love missed here may be granted; but if love is fulfilled on earth, then in the future existences of the soul, however great their number, there will be a conscious continuance of the love begun in our present life.

### III. THE NATURE OF LOVE.

Thus far an attempt has been made to present the ideas which the poems of Browning embody with respect to the importance of love and to its relation to life. In addition, to gain an anywhere nearly adequate conception of the attitude of Browning towards love, one must dwell for a time upon its nature as defined in his work. In the first place, the ideal state is one of almost complete identification of oneself with the beloved person. Says the speaker in "Two in the Campagna":

"I would! I could adopt your will,  
See with your eyes, and set my heart  
Beating by yours, and drink my fill  
At your soul's springs—your part my part  
In life, for good and ill."

The husband in "By the Fireside" gives utterance to the same thought when he exclaims:

"One near one is too far!"

But as ideals are never realized in this life, Browning, though he now and then seems to give us a picture of perfect fulfilment of love, would be recreant to his own teachings if he did not hold that in love as in other matters, "a man's reach should exceed his grasp or what's a heaven for!" In both "Love in a Life" and "Life in a Love," Browning shows that love is especially the source of happiness when its full realization is just beyond one. The former of the two poems will perhaps be sufficient to establish the point in question:

"Room after room,  
I hunt the house through  
We inhabit together  
Heart, fear nothing, for heart, thou shalt find her—

Next time, herself! not the trouble behind her  
Left in the curtain, the couch's perfume!  
As she brushed it, the cornice-wreath blossomed  
anew:  
Yon looking-glass gleamed at the wave of her  
feather.

"Yet the day wears,  
And door succeeds door;  
I try the fresh fortune,  
Range the wide house from the wing to the center.  
Still the same chance! she goes out as I enter.  
Spend my whole day in the quest—who cares?  
But 't is twilight, you see—with such suites to ex-  
plore,  
Such closets to search, such alcoves to importune!"

Love, then, is absorption, but the absorption is not for the time being, it is for all time; it is not a passion directed towards many different souls at as many different times; it is for one, and one only. This is the thought underlying the poem called "Which." Three women, with an abbé as referee, began a trial of who judged most wisely in esteeming the love of a man. One thought him best who held her first after his God and his king. The second felt that to this loyalty must be added heroism and fine deeds. But the last said:

"My choice be a wretch,  
Mere losel in body and soul,  
Thrice accurst! What care I, so he stretch  
Arms to me his sole saviour, love's ultimate goal,  
Out of earth and men's noise—names of infidel,  
traitor!  
Cast up at him? Crown me, crown's adjudicator.

"And the Abbé uncrossed his legs,  
Took snuff, a reflective pinch,  
Broke silence: 'The question begs  
Much pondering ere I pronounce. Shall I flinch?  
The love which to one and one only has reference  
Seems terribly like what perhaps gains God's pref-  
erence."

But this love, we may ask, how does it begin, how does it show itself? In the first place Browning, in company with the majority of poets, says that a very little thing may arouse it, a very little thing may bring it to an end. "Was it?" says a woman, thinking of the death of love—

"Was it something said,  
Something done,  
Vexed him? Was it touch of hand,  
Turn of head?  
Strange! that very way  
Love begun:  
I as little understand  
Love's decay."

But Browning as usual advances beyond those with whom he has some teaching in common. To love, he applies the words of Shakespeare,

"There is a tide in the affairs of men  
Which taken at the flood, leads on to fortune:  
Omitted, all the voyage of their lives  
Is bound in shallows and in miseries."

That the great high tide in the affairs of men is that which bears love on its crest, is one of the fundamental ideas of "The Statue and the Bust," of "Dis Aliter Visum," of "Cristina," and of "By the Fireside." Its best popular presentation is found, perhaps, in "Youth and Art." Two have met, a prominent artist and a well-known lady. She recalls to him that in their youth both had been poor and had lived in the same street; yet though both of them thought of love, they deferred its realization, "And so," she says:

"Each life's unfulfilled, you see;  
It hangs still, patchy and scrappy:  
We have not sighed deep, laughed free,  
Starved, feasted, despaired, been happy,  
And nobody calls you a dunce,  
And people suppose me clever:  
This could but have happened once,  
And we missed it, lost it forever."

When viewing love in its relation to life, we saw that Browning advises one to love on in spite of opposition and disappointment. But it is under the head of the nature of love that it seems best to present the idea that love is its own exceeding great reward. There is ever the hope that love may sometime be returned, as in the song from "Pippa Passes," "You'll love me yet"; there is the happiness which comes in the moment when it seems that love is about to be gained, as in "Misconceptions" and in "One Way of Love"; there is the delight that arises even though love is not returned because of worldly wisdom, as in "Cristina" and in "Bifurcation"; and there is the joyousness that results just because love lives on, as in the first of "Bad Dreams" and in "White Witchcraft."

Closely connected with the poems thus far noted are those which warn us not to dabble in love. Here again might a few

lines of the often-mentioned poem, "Cristina," be quoted; but a reference to one called "A Light Woman" will adequately serve the purpose. A man, in order to save his younger friend from the toils of a woman, sets himself to making love, and succeeds in rescuing his friend at the expense of that friend's regard. He ends by saying:

"'T is an awkward thing to play with souls,  
And matter enough to save one's own:  
Yet think of my friend, and the burning coals  
He played with for bits of stone!

"One likes to show the truth for the truth;  
That the woman was light is very true:  
But suppose she says—Never mind that youth!  
What wrong have I done to you?"

The same teaching is found in "Any Wife to Any Husband"; but Browning's elsewhere goes a step farther and shows that such a wanton waste of holy things will probably result in disaster. Indeed, when love is looked upon as something with which one may play, it is not unlikely that love will become a consuming fire. No particular passage, perhaps, expresses this thought; but it is found implicitly stated in "Cristina and Monaldeschi."

This, then, is the position which Browning holds with respect to the nature of love: ideally, it is the complete loss of identity in the one loved; actually, this state cannot be reached, or if ever reached, it cannot be held permanently. Indeed, the fact that the realization of the ideal is ever eluding one, is the reason why love is truly longed for. This love, too, is for one and one only, though the beloved is the worst of mankind. It is also Browning's opinion that love may be aroused almost by a breath, while the moment of awakening is a moment that flashes upon one with the overwhelming conviction that the great golden minute of life has come. But whether love is returned or not, love is its own reward; and one should feel in spite of disappointment that much has been gained. With such a conception of the nature of love, it is not surprising that almost as a moral, Browning points out that he who dabbles

in love invites judgment and, perhaps, destruction.

#### IV. THE EFFECT OF LOVE.

It is an old adage that love is blind, but close observers of human nature maintain that the eyes of love instead of being veiled become preternaturally acute, since a lover can see far more in the one who is loved than can any one else. Among those who look upon love as offering assistance, rather than as giving hindrance to vision, Browning most certainly has a place. He clearly shows that this is his belief in the lyric beginning,

"Nay but you, who do not love her  
Is she not pure gold, my mistress?"

But perhaps the best utterances of the idea is found in the often-quoted poem called "My Star":

"All that I know  
Of a certain star  
Is, it can throw  
(Like the angled spar)  
Now a dart of red,  
Now a dart of blue;  
Till my friends have said  
They would fain see, too,  
My star that darts the red and the blue!  
Then it stops like a bird; like a flower hangs  
furled:  
They must solace themselves with the Saturn  
above it.  
What matters to me if their star is a world?  
Mine has opened its soul to me; therefore I love it."

The same idea observed from a somewhat different point-of-view, is found near the end of "One Word More":

"My moon of poets!  
Oh, but that 's the world's side, there 's the wonder,  
Thus they see you, praise you, think they know you!  
There in turn I stand with them and praise you  
Out of my own self, I dare to phrase it.  
But the best is when I glide from out them,  
Cross a step or two of dubious twilight,  
Come out on the other side, the novel,  
Silent, silver lights and darks undreamed of,  
Where I hush and bless myself with silence."

But this new sight with respect to the one loved does not cease there; it extends to the whole world. When one is in love, nature has never been so beautiful before—"Is there?" says the lover—



"Is there no method to tell her in Spanish,  
June's thrice June since she breathed it with me?"

Never before have the birds sung so sweetly, the skies been so blue, the breezes seemed so soft, the sunsets showed such opaline minglings of gold and crimson and purple. The lover truly says:

"All I can sing is—I feel it!  
This life was as blank as that room;  
I let you pass in here. Precaution, indeed?  
Walls, ceiling and floor, not a chance for a weed!  
Wide opens the entrance: where's cold now,  
where's gloom?  
No May to sow seed here, no June to reveal it,  
Behold you enshrined in these blooms of your  
bringing.  
These fruits of your bearing—nay, birds of your  
winging!  
A fairy tale! Only—I feel it!"

In natural contrast with the effect spoken of above is that produced when love is done, or when the loved one is away for a time. Says the lover:

"Where I find her not, beauties vanish.

Come, bud, show me the least of her traces,  
Treasure my lady's lightest footfall!  
Ah, you may flout and turn up your faces  
Roses, you are not so fair, after all!"

Says another lover:

"Oh, what a dawn of day!  
How the March sun feels like May!  
All is blue again  
After last night's rain,  
And the South dries the hawthorn-spray.  
Only, my Love's away!  
I'd as lief that the blue were gray.

"Runnels, which rillels swell,  
Must be dancing down the dell,  
With a foaming head  
On the beryl bed  
Paven smooth as a hermit's cell;  
Each with a tale to tell,  
Could my love but attend as well."

Now, when one has thus been awakened by love, and when therefore the loved one and the world are viewed in the most entrancing lights, it is a logical result that the person loved should become a guiding star and that love should lead one on to vaster issues. "Love," says a speaker in "A Lover's Quarrel":

"Love, if you knew the light  
That your soul casts in my sight,  
How I look to you  
For the pure and true,  
And theauteous and the right!"

In "One Word More," Browning, surely speaking in his own person, recalls the stories that Rafael once left his brushes to write a century of sonnets, and that Dante laid aside his pen to paint an angel, each hoping thereby to gain, for the sake of the loved one, a height unknown before. In "Mary Wollstonecraft and Fuseli," also, it is well pointed out that love fills one with courageous strength, and wings one for untried flights:

"Mine are the nerves to quake at a mouse;  
If a spider drops I shrink with fear:  
I should die outright in a haunted house;  
While for you—did the danger dared bring help,  
From a lion's den I could steal his whelp,  
With a serpent round me, stand stock still,  
Go sleep in a churchyard, so would will  
Give me the power to dare and do  
Valiantly—just for you!"

"Much amiss in the head, Dear,  
I toil at a language, tax my brain  
Attempting to draw—the scratches here!  
I play, play, practise, and all in vain:  
But for you, if my triumph brought you pride  
I would grapple with Greek plays till I died,  
Paint a portrait of you, who can tell?  
Work my fingers off for your 'pretty well.'  
Language and painting and music, too,  
Easily done—for you!"

In general, then, it may be said that Browning agrees with those who think that love causes the world, the one loved, life, everything, in fact, to glow with a new and beautiful light. Of course the loss of love must necessarily have a strongly opposite effect. What was beautiful, though admitted to be beautiful still, loses for him who is suffering from disappointment all of its attractive power, all of its charm. And since love has such potency to change the aspect of all things, it is easy to conclude that it must urge those who are affected by it to the doing of mighty deeds, to the scaling of heights undreamed of.

#### V. ON BROWNING'S THEORY OF LOVE.

When a theory of any kind is found in a poet's work, the reader is often led to question to how great an extent the formulæ of that theory have been influenced by events in the life of the maker; and also to inquire what is their working

value. Now it must be conceded that Browning never stated that he intended to formulate any theory of love; nor should one insist that the poet really had the purpose of presenting any hypothesis as to the nature and effect of the strongest passion that rules mankind. The preceding examination of certain poems of Browning has only the end in view of showing that a theory of love may be found within them; and now it is by no means aside from the general subject of this study to give some attention to the value of the theory, viewed in its relation to the actual conditions of the world in which we live.

As to Browning himself, it may be said that by many he is considered the foremost poet of the nineteenth century; that he was all his life far removed from privations of any kind, and for many years was a man of wealth; and that his married life with the greatest woman poet in England if not of all time, was, in the minds of his most intimate friends, almost an absolute realization of ideals. Now the facts that Browning was a poet, a man of wealth, and the husband of a very nearly perfect woman, all render him unfit to be a practical teacher in matters of love. Shakespeare long ago remarked that the poet dealt with "things unknown" and "airy nothings"; and even though it be regarded as true that the poet is the only one who sees the explanation of things, yet it is nevertheless certain that the most carefully elaborated and most attractive formulæ of poets have ever been found unfitted for practical use. There never has been even a modified form of the republic advocated by Plato; and the return to Eden suggested by Coleridge and Southey came to an untimely end. But whether or not the point is well taken that a poet is at best but a poor guide in practical matters; that Browning was a man of considerable means, and that he was a partner in an ideal marriage, both cause one to question his fitness to promulgate the doctrines that without a thought of worldly wisdom,

one should love, sigh deep, laugh free, starve, feast, despair, be happy; that one could love a wretch, a mere losel in body and soul, and that one may take a moment's enthusiasm as indicative of a whole life of unflinching regard.

It may not be without value to glance at some of Browning's chief teachings with regard to love, and to attempt to determine their value in their relation to the present conditions of life. Browning says that love for one, and one only, seems terribly like what perhaps gains God's preference. This is really only a new rendition of the old idea that souls are created in pairs and that in spite of circumstances those that are made for each other will be brought together. All this is very beautiful, very poetical, but as a matter of fact, is it true? Certainly, if it is, some very queer combinations exist; and we are tempted to wish that sometimes circumstances would miscarry. Love, viewed from a common-sense point-of-view, is a mere result of environment. Two persons are thrown into contact, they meet again and again; and the very nature of their make-up being such as tends to a union, why, other things being equal, a union must occur. But suppose that for some reason the environment is changed before such a result is brought about. For a time, probably, an endeavor is made on both sides to preserve the old feelings, but very frequently, though not always it may be admitted, a tendency towards a new combination begins, as the days pass; and, sooner or later, the old relation is forgotten. In both cases there is a period when those involved feel that the one soul for which the other has waited and longed has been found. And should there be a third or a fourth or a fifth change of environment, probably the same drama will be enacted again and again.

Browning teaches also that one should love in spite of worldly wisdom and duty. From some points-of-view this is mere folly; from others, veritable wickedness. When one loves, one has no right to take no glance into the future. As a matter of

fact and in spite of Browning to the contrary, starvation and happiness are at best poor companions. That a true lover could subject the one loved to a life of grinding poverty is open to dispute; and it is certain that a love which denies itself even for the most unpoetic reasons is very often more noble than that, which without one thought as to the future, rushes on to a selfish realization of its desires. We are the product of our surroundings; and the claim that love will make up for the absence of all other things is as absurd as it is chimerical. And there is still another aspect to the case. The future may bring with it heavy responsibilities in that a new life may be brought into the world. What right, then, we may well ask, what right have men and women, thoughtlessly and carelessly to place an innocent soul in an environment which must almost necessarily make for its downfall rather than for its uprise? Not always, either, has love superior claims to duty. One of the fundamental doctrines of modern life is the heroism of renunciation. We are taught that he who loses his happiness in self-denial, really gains it. When, therefore, one hears Browning apply the name sinner to a person who has sacrificed love and happiness to duty and hardship, one indignantly recalls the pathetic story of Charles Lamb. Was his sacrifice of love at the altar of duty but a sin? When we think of his patiently taking his sister, time after time, to the mad-house, and then, after the attack of insanity had passed, leading her to their home again; when we think of his cheerfulness during those long evenings which he spent in playing cribbage with a petulant, sick old man, we are inclined to feel that there is something wrong in Browning's theory. Truly, he must have forgotten that magnificent conception of duty held by Wordsworth:

"Stern Daughter of the Voice of God!  
O Duty, if that name thou love,  
Who art a Light to guide, a Rod  
To check the erring and reprove;  
Thou who art victory and law,

When empty terrors overawe,  
From vain temptations dost set free  
And calm'st the weary strife of frail humanity!"

In the poem "Which" is found the idea that the highest type of love is that which gives love to God, and love to country places subordinate to that toward a single human being. This position is far from being well taken. It is the consensus of the opinions of Christian teachers that love to God stands first; it is the consensus of the opinions of all ages that patriotism is greater than love for family. Browning's idea may be good possibly, but it has been well said that that which has been held as truth by the centuries must be regarded with considerable deference. It takes more than one man, even though that man may be the greatest poet of his age, to show that that is wrong which by many generations has been held as right. Antiquity and tradition are often strong arguments not easily controverted. Still another thought suggested by this same poem of "Which" clamors for expression. The Comtesse says that the one test proving a man worthy of love, is his readiness to love a woman blindly, passionately, absolutely. If he has that characteristic, it matters not how low he has fallen, he is not the less deserving of the highest regard. Now it is all very well to accept the doctrine that love rises by stooping; but when that teaching is construed to mean a groveling in the dust, a casting of pearls before swine, the inevitable conclusion is that love is of the earth, earthy.

And this brings us to the attitude which must be held towards Browning's whole theory of love as developed in the lyrical poems. In the first place, many will agree after a moment's thought, that the theory is marked throughout by selfishness. The object of the attempt to realize love, the reason why one should love in spite of common-sense, of wisdom, of duty, is, according to Browning, the self-aggrandizement of the soul. Though love may cause one to do great deeds, to sacrifice oneself indeed; in the last analy-

sis, these are merely incidental effects, the one great good to be gained being that personal advancement which giving oneself to love is supposed to bring about. But in spite of this objection, much that Browning says is pure gold. It is a sad truth that love in the present day is too often sold for social position, for wealth, and for renown. In so far as Browning's theory is an outcry against this condition of affairs, it is praiseworthy; but it must be conceded, on the other hand, that Browning's conception of love, as a whole, is often marked by a sensuousness which sometimes approaches dangerously near to the barriers of sensuality, and not seldom by an absence of that noble sweetness which makes for high spirituality. That Browning himself may have had a coarse fiber in his mental constitution is not beyond thought, for how else could he have written, much less how allowed to stand, many a passage that mars his work? Realism may be a desirable quality in literature, but the deliberate choice of a disgusting subject, a revolting allusion, a vile epithet, is, to say the least, unpoetic. An artist in words, since he cannot write of all things, must make a choice of matter for

treatment; and in so far as a truly poetic soul is darkened by earthy tendencies, in just so far will his choice and presentation of his subjects be earthy also. Especially is this true of a writer when he deals with love; and Browning is no exception to the rule. As one carefully examines his love poems, one finds now and again a taint of grossness, a note of vulgarity. True it is, that there are those who claim to find spiritual teachings in these lyrics, nor has one the right to maintain that such teachings are wholly lacking; but often the spirituality said to exist in some of Browning's poems is not innate; rather, if it is found at all, it has been brought by the reader himself. Of course the grand, the beautiful, the sublime conception of love, such as is portrayed in "Pompilia" and in "Caponsacchi," may rise up to refute this criticism; but it is none the less true that love as treated in the lyrical poems of Browning is too often largely wanting in that spirituality which must mark the love that is most like what gains God's preference.

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## THE LIFE-RELIGION.

BY RUFUS W. WEEKS.

### I. A BIOLOGIC CONCEPTION.

THE WAYS of looking at religion are many and various, even as are the ways of regarding the universe; and the task I have undertaken is to present a certain special way of looking at religion. I must begin by setting forth briefly a certain special way of looking at the universe. It is well known that a scientific man in looking abroad upon the world sees it from the point-of-view of his own science, whichever of the sciences that

may be. For example, if he is a mathematician, the whole complicated scheme of things presents itself to him as an affair of numbers, dimensions, quantities; if he is a minister, steeped in the lore of sin and holiness, all the facts of the universe group themselves around notions of right and wrong; if he is a physicist, all resolves itself into atoms and the groupings and movements of atoms. None of these views appears to me at all comprehensive; and those scholars appear to me to be nearer right who say that the point-



of-view of *biology* is really central; that *life* lies at the middle point of things. For the biologist, after learning all he can learn about living animals, can feel his way back into the sciences of physics, learning of the atoms and of how their groupings and their laws made the necessary preparation for life; and, on the other hand, his science of biology leads him up to man, the highest of living creatures, and so to all the phenomena of mind and soul, and to all the thoughts of justice and of goodness and of their opposites. And so I propose that, for the moment at least, we take Life as the central fact of the universe.

To explain the universe—to make it a conceivable whole in thought—such is the constant effort of men's minds: to find out what is the *stem reality*, so to speak, about which cluster all the strangely diverse facts of past and present and likely future, and then to trace how the diverse kinds of phenomena grow out of that central reality. The latest word in this ceaseless effort to explain is the word, *Life*. The best name we can give the single force which we are driven to think of as behind all the endless flux of event, of change in matter and mind; as the cause of the atoms, of the worlds, of the visible developments of the myriad vegetable and animal forms, rising to man, of the ceaseless shifting play of human thought; the best name, it seems, that we can give to such conceived single force is *Life*.

If we contemplate this earth, as it was millions of years ago, before vegetable and animal had appeared; as it was before all the geologic epochs: a mass of seething chemicals, so to speak; after that a glowing ball of rock; we can conceive, then, of no prophecy or hint of the bloom of life which that insensate mass was later to produce out of itself. But the moment did come, after the mass had cooled to a certain temperature, after water and air had separated themselves from the vast caldron and found their places and ways of motion, the moment

arrived when the germs of life came into existence. Something utterly different from what had gone before then began; a new kind of development started on its bewildering and glorious course; and we may, if we like, say that that was the beginning of *Life*. We may thus think of two unblended forces as causing the universe; an earlier force, akin to chemical force, and a later force, *Life*; and we then think of *Life* as accomplishing nothing all those uncountable millenniums, nothing until the earlier force, in its senseless changes, had by chance brought about the right set of conditions for *Life* to begin to act. But to the most modern mind it is more satisfactory to think of the entire past, embracing both the stages, the seeming lifeless and the seeming living, as one process—to think of all events as manifestations of one force—and to think of that one force as best characterized by its latest and only glorious achievement—and thus to call that one force *Life*.

Such a thought, such a name, are the first elements of a *Biology of the Unseen*; the germs of a science to which the widest and most piercing generalizations of all the sciences call us irresistibly; they so call us, that is, if we have open minds and the feeling for value in the universe.

Of this sweeping force which we have called *Life*, what may we then assert? We may call it a tendency: and, further, we may speak of it as a tendency towards those great characteristic things which have emerged during the process which *Life* has driven forward. *Life*, then, is a tendency towards organism, towards feeling, towards desire, towards reaching forth, towards purpose, towards intelligence, towards will, towards pleasure, towards joy, towards good-will. All these experiences have arisen, one by one, and in the general order of higher and higher, in the myriads of units which *Life* has brought forth. I do not ignore the negatives of all these, negatives which have also existed and do exist in the course of the process; no, nor the active opposites

of some of them; pain as well as pleasure, misery as well as joy, evil-will as well as good-will. But these negatives are attached to the permanent phenomena which were the whole of the earlier stages of the process; and even the active bad experiences are of the nature of survivals. Animals, including man, suffer because their organisms are built out of atoms which have to act according to the nature they got in the non-organic stage; as to selfishness in man, it is a survival of the bestial struggle for existence; as to active evil-will, I believe this is a rare phenomenon; few are the human beings who have an intrinsic pleasure in the anguish of others, and they are the monstrosities of Life, like a cancer in the human body; furthermore, even that rare and diabolic quality of malevolence has its roots, I believe, in the will to live, and hence is a misaction of Life's impulse, not an opposite action.

Life, then, is a tendency towards organism, towards feeling, towards intelligence, towards will, towards joy, towards goodness. When we contemplate this vast and mighty sweep of tendency, pouring like an Amazon of Being between unseen shores from a limitless past to a boundless future, and on the surface of which we are but the tiny sparkles of a moment, what awe we feel, what wondering admiration! Inevitably springs the question to our minds: Does Life, this immeasurable all-embracing Unit—does Life itself share the qualities which it brings forth? Can Life feel what it is doing? Does Life know what it is doing? Does Life care what it is doing?

Such questions we are able to ask, and that in itself is a wonderful achievement, but we are, of course, not able to answer them—that is, not to the point of demonstration. How could it be possible that we human beings, little buds on the tree of Life, minute drops in the stream of Life, infinitesimal cells in the body of Life, could prove to each other—yes, or no—whether that vast Being that bears us feels, and wills, and knows, and plans

the good? And yet, and yet, there is an instinct in us, not quite dormant except in some maimed specimens of the human race, some who have suffered too much, some who have indulged beyond the normal the negatively critical intellect; an instinct in the whole-minded, whole-hearted, whole-souled man which impels him to answer the question and to answer it, Yes! Though with stammering lips, though the qualities we with such astounding boldness attribute to Life the All-Being and call by the names of man's qualities, wisdom, will, justice, be, in Life—as may well be—transcendent, nameless, incomprehensible qualities; still we are moved to look up and say: "Thou seest! Thou determinest! Thou lovest!" And while Life has no voice audible to our ears, any more than we have a voice to speak to the drops of blood in our own veins, it is healthy and normal for us to trust the affirmative within us, to take the thrill of solidarity we feel with Life as the thrill of great Life itself. Having accepted this vivifying conception, and let its tide of joyous faith flow through our hearts and minds, we again look back to the beginning of things, and the story thus tells or sings itself to us.

Life's æonian toil began with the beginning of the mineral world, the breaking of the atoms into being, then the systemizing of elements into orderly vibration and movement; but in all this vast machine Life found no satisfaction; here was nothing to respond, nothing to feel. Then began the upward course of Life, with that mysterious moment when molecule passed into cell—the hidden transition not yet revealed to man, still less to be provoked by him; thus appeared the organic, the lowest vegetable existence. A triumph of Life was this, but still no cessation of the immense yearning which was Life, for still there was no feeling in the world, no response of delight to the desire of Life to see delight. The climb of Life next passed over from lowest organic to clear animal existence; and here at last was undoubted sensation, a

true response. Up, stair after stair, Life climbed the scale of animal being, till man emerged—man, at once Life's triumph and Life's woe. For man is both happier and unhappier than the beast; unhappier because he alone can know himself as an unhappy and injured being; also man can so behave as to further the eternal longing of Life, whose other name is Love; or he can so behave as to hold back the accomplishment of that eternal longing. So Life's æonian craving continued and continues: Life's task now is to mount upward through man individual to man social; from man discordant and therefore anguished, to man harmonious and therefore happy.

This impulse now stirs mightily within the human race; its effort is to humanize the economic basis of the life of man; to make the alimentary phase of the economic life a racial, social function; to prompt the race to slough off that refined indirect cannibalism which we now practise; to abolish the struggle for existence within the human race; to apply the racial will and the racial reason to the steady promotion of efficiency, thus no longer leaving efficiency to be alternately promoted and set back by the blind working of the struggle for existence in the crude and cruel fashion of the present; and to learn the art of securing the means of life by coöperative brotherhood in all the economic activities; that the race may thus emerge upon a plane never yet attained, may at last become truly human.

At this point let me forestall a doubt, and say that it was by no figure of speech that I called our civilization a refined indirect cannibalism; I was but stating that which is mathematically a fact. For, those people who, without useful work, live and luxuriate upon rent, interest and speculation, consume the food and the other necessities of life which rightly by the law of Life should be consumed by the workers who produce them, and by their wives and children and aged. Lacking this food and these other necessities, these workers and their wives

and children and aged are ill-nourished, stunted, oftentimes famished. And so the superabundant flesh of the one class is the equivalent of the emaciation of the other class; the full-bloodedness of the one class is the equivalent of the feeble flow in the veins of the other class; and this equivalence is mathematically the same in effect as if the one class fed on the flesh and blood of the other class. Now, it is the normal rule of our present civilization that we are all struggling; that is, all of us who have any hope of succeeding are struggling to get where we can live on interest, rent, or speculation, which means that we are struggling to live on the flesh of our fellow-men; and such a civilization is cannibalistic.

The types of human beings characteristic of such a civilization are to be seen every day on our streets. There is, first, the active type, shown in the fierce faces up-borne by the hunters for profit as they hurry to and fro in the struggle for places at the perpetual banquet. Then there are the two types of settled condition opposite to each other: there are the men and women whose high color and ample bearing set them forth as feasters; and, on the other hand, there are those whose spent, juiceless, broken bodies testify them as victims. If any one asks for a single typical picture, let him look upon some smiling fur-clad family mounting into their motor-car, and let him understand that the motor-car was bought with textile dividends: then upon what meat do these feed but upon the flesh of tender children and of sweet maidens? He who has eyes to see what is now pointed out to him can never again be proud of such a civilization; from this day on, in the sacred name of outraged Life, he must strive without ceasing for the coming of a really human civilization.

## II. THE LIFE RELIGION IN CHRISTIAN FORM.

Having in the first half of this paper entertained a conception which identifies the universe, the All-Being, with Life, let

us now speak of the effect which such a conception must have on the feelings and thoughts of the man who accepts it. He must desire to bring his own will and actions into unison with the will of Life; and, as most of his actions have their impact upon human beings, he must desire so to mould his course of action as to further the purpose of Life in the human race. That purpose may be summed up as vigor, health, harmony, joy; and its fulfilment calls for the clearing away of all the hindrances which the past of cruel struggle and competition still imposes upon us. And the effort on the part of men to partake in this the great task of Life, and thus consciously and by will to merge their little lives into Life—the All-Life—is a religion, in the fullest sense of the word. Let us call it the Life-Religion. This religion must necessarily take monotheistic form, since it apprehends a single vast object of worship. It is probable that all the four great monotheisms—Judaism, Buddhism, Christianity, Mohammedanism—are available for its expression; but, in some ways at least, Christianity is especially so available. There is a cry to-day prevalent in Christendom, "Back to Christ!"; and when, obeying that summons, we peer, most earnestly and with eyes seeking truth alone, into the historic obscurity where Jesus stands, we may dimly discern that the original substance of his religion was identical with the substance of that which I have called the Life-Religion.

The New Testament is an unsystematic mass of material out of which historic Christianity has, with the addition of some material from other sources, built up its structures, ethical, theological and ecclesiastical. But the material of the New Testament is not homogeneous; the greater part of the mass is not from Jesus, at least not in its present form, but is secondary; and the task of sorting the entire mass, and assigning those portions to the primary source in Jesus which belong there, is, at present at least, an impossible undertaking. Still, we are not quite in

the dark; for there are, imbedded in the mass of secondary or possibly secondary material, certain documents self-evidently primitive, documents which suggest a simple original Jesus-religion; even as boulders, buried in a gravel bank, might tell the substance of that rocky range afar which was their matrix. The most striking of these fragments is the document called the Lord's Prayer.

Consider the supreme significance of this document, as a clue to the religion of Jesus—to the original and true Christianity. Here we have the sole form of words dictated by Jesus, a form of words for the most solemn and distinctively religious of purposes—the address of the believer to his God. Surely in this document we shall have the main corner-stone of Christianity. What, then, is the burden of this document—and what, therefore, the burden of genuine Christianity? We know what the burden of the religion of Christendom has been these nineteen centuries: it has been that men's chief business is their individual salvation, one by one to escape hell and attain heaven; and this to be achieved by individual faith in the sacrifice of Christ on the cross. Naturally, therefore, the corner-stone document of the faith, bearing the sign-manual of its founder, as it were, should clearly show this, the supposed substance of religion, of man's relation to God, should it not? Look now upon the few brief sentences of the most precious heritage of all the ages:

*"Our heavenly Father, may thy name be held holy;  
Thy kingdom come, and thy will be done on earth as  
in heaven.*

*Give us to-day our bread for the day before us;  
And forgive us our debts, as we, too, have forgiven  
our debtors;*

*And take us not into temptation, but rescue us from  
evil."*

Look attentively at this document; study it, if possible, as if you had never seen it before; and inquire what is the burden of the religion it implies. Certainly it is not that the main affair of religion is its bearing on another life, an unseen life, which is to succeed this visible



life; no, the document is silent on the topic of another life, as silent as the old Hebrew prophets. It is silent, furthermore, on the issue later and ever since thought supremely urgent—the salvation of the individual; its concern is *this* life, *this* world, the collective salvation of the race here and now, social salvation. In the guise of petition, it is in reality aspiration—aspiration for the good of mankind; for the transformation of this world of living men, its transformation into a commonwealth where the will of the Father of men shall be fully done; and, in the meantime, for such a lot in life and such a state of feeling as will best enable those who offer up the aspiration to help in bringing about the transformation. This is a social cry—its import is racial, biologic; and so the life-religionist of to-day, seeing in it the mind of Jesus, may unhesitatingly claim the Lord's Prayer to be the church's true "charter of salvation."

The life-religionist, if now he feels that he has caught the quality of thought of the primal Jesus, is fain to roam through the synoptic gospels, glancing to right and left, searching for other fragments of like substance, other masses broken from the same rock of ages. He will surely light on that marvelous and affecting document—the parable of the last judgment; before his eager mind will pass all the phantasmagoric imagery of a colossal court scene, set in cloudland, in which a judge sits enthroned and royally attended, and in which a palace on his right and a prison on his left await the two files of the procession as they part at the foot of the throne, according to his verdict. An inner significance will dawn on the newly-instructed mind of the life-religionist observer; he will see in that dim form on the throne "like unto the Son of Man," the image of Man Collective, historic and perpetual; and in the procession coming to trial he will see all the types of mankind; each receiving the verdict that it is worthy, or that it is unworthy, of persistence in the life of the race. The types

that are individualist, sheerly self-regarding, he will see are doomed to disappearance in the fire of Time which burns up all things worthless; the types that are altruistic, brotherly, he will see are to be caught up and carried on by life into the higher and higher glory of a race moving on to perfection. An import social, biologic, is thus reasonably found in the parable; this song sings well, set to the tune of the king-song, the Lord's Prayer.

Standing thus upon the Lord's Prayer as the church's "charter of salvation," and upon those many sayings of Jesus which have like sense as the true picture of his mind, the life-religionist may fairly feel that he is rightful heritor and owner of those institutions which claim to derive from Jesus—Christianity and the church. With this right well settled in his mind, he may appropriate the antique ceremonies and forms of speech used by the church, and in them will find satisfying expression of the life-religion. Indeed, he may well believe that, in all ages, that multitude of humble and kindly untheological souls who have so knelt, so prayed, so sung, so communed, have by these religious acts expressed the same state of feeling toward the race of men and toward the unseen Source of life which he now expresses by the same acts and words; and that the succession of such humble and kindly souls has been the true church of Jesus within the church of Christendom all down the centuries. Thus to feel and so to be enabled to join heartily in the time-honored forms of the church is a great spiritual advantage; for these forms are so wrapped about with association and emotion that the life-religionist of Christian antecedents is easily borne away by them into a lofty world of feeling, where he is refreshed and nourished for the social struggle of the outer life. That it is legitimate to use the forms of public worship in this free manner follows from the purpose of such forms. The object of prayers, hymns and recitations is not intellectual exercise, but spiritual exercise; and there is nothing therefore more

singularly out of place in the use of such forms than to admit any mental debate. The worshiper kneels in prayer, or stands to sing or to recite, not in order to learn facts, not in order to sharpen his intellect or to enjoy the play of internal argument, but for emotional benefit. He desires to express feeling through these forms—religious feeling; and he desires through such expression to fix and deepen in himself the religious feeling and so to strengthen himself for putting such emotion into action thereafter.

If the forms of words answer these purposes for him, he need not and should not concern himself about archaisms of theory or of belief in supposed facts no longer acceptable. It is the present spiritual help that he seeks; and it is his right and duty to use the words before him in such manner as is most fruitful to him spiritually. The question, what was meant by those who originally worded the prayer or hymn, is of no concern: for the act of worship deals with nothing past—the man kneels or stands before the Unseen anew that moment, and speaks the familiar words for the sake of their then content of emotion for him, and for the sake of nothing else.

Taking this privilege, the life-religionist of Christian antecedents can join heartily in that ancient hymn of praise to the Trinity, the *Gloria*, and in it can find welcome expression; for to him it hints of three vast personifications, which are never far from his mind, three phases felt as realities, and felt as having an identity. These objects of feeling and thought are: first, Life Creative, the benign fountain and origin and constant driving force of all the universe; second, Man the anguished, figured as "the Lamb slain from the foundation of the world," Man in all his woe past and present, Man the Martyr, summed up and expressed in Jesus on the Cross; and also Man the Hero, toiling and to triumph, typified likewise in Christ the Captain of the World's Salvation; and, third, the Spirit

of Love, which wondrously animates man with the self-sacrificing will necessary to carry the race on to its goal of welfare. The life-religionist, then, thinks of Life, of Man and of Love; and of these three as, in the last depth of thought, one; Life. These are thoughts which lie on the border-line between analysis and imagination and which fittingly clothe themselves in poetic form; and to which therefore the words of the antique chant are congenial.

Again, to the life-religionist at church, the reciting of the Creed is an act of joy—an abandonment to a kind of ecstasy. To him and for the present use the creed is no formula of precision, mathematical and historic; it is a poem, expressing what lies deepest in his heart. The feelings that it suggests, as the antique sentences flow solemnly on, might be rendered thus:

*"I love to think of Love Creative, Life Eternal, from which flows the vast living stream of the Universe, seen and unseen."*

*"I love to think of that man of men, the flower and symbol of the race, and so the highest and nearest offspring of Life Eternal, Jesus, our teacher and leader, who suffered as humanity has suffered and who died on the cross of man's inhumanity; who lives forever in the Life Eternal and in the hearts of men his reverent learners; and whose judgment of men and their deeds is final; being the judgment of Life itself."*

*"I love to think of the Spirit of Love in the hearts of men; of the true inclusive church, the union of all those who faithfully toil for the pure love of man; of the doing away of evil and wrong, and of the mystic life in Life, undying and glorious."*

Modernists who settle their attitude towards the forms of the church in this temper, at once radical and conservative, do their part towards preserving the continuity of the thought-life of the race; and such continuity, persisting through change, is wholesome for the life of the race as for the physical and mental life of the individual.

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## SOME MODERN EDUCATIONAL READJUSTMENTS.

BY PROFESSOR JOHN WARD STIMSON.

Author of "The Gate Beautiful."

OUR COUNTRY has of late years been learning some pretty hard lessons, alike in politics, sociology, ethics, industry, finance and education. We have found ourselves slowly becoming poisoned by an unseen virus in politics and ethics, corrupted in financial and business matters, divided and embittered socially, confused in education, and outstripped in many most important lines and departments of competitive industry. We have had our serene national complacency shocked and shattered by serious revelations of our weaknesses; our Saxon arrogance, as regards freedom and self-government, panic-stricken by the discovery of subtle and pervasive despotism; our pride at superior enterprise outstripped, in true progress and prosperity, by nations we had despised; and even our religious conceit and sanctimony horrified to find that pagan nations like Japan excelled us in a hundred practical virtues, probities and efficiencies in all the arts of rapid self-development; self-defense, and self-expression through industries of usefulness, beauty and skill.

After the fashion of all young and provincial organisms, our vanity had supposed ourselves in some peculiarly divine way a "unique" people, as did the Jews, "set apart" from the ordinary temptations and frailties of our race, and having little to learn from outside.

This has been rudely shaken, but much to our broader national profit—and we are beginning to arouse ourselves anew with a nobler national conscience and set our house in better order. We are only panic-stricken, not paralyzed; punished, but not destroyed.

Time is teaching all nations gradually the unity of the race of man on this planet; their common heritage of experience and evolutionary tendency; the necessity for all to learn the great common lesson of

life, power, progress, permanency of expression and influence, through the one solely successful path, the path of *Vital Principles put into Daily Practice*.

As all life is discovered to be essentially "immaterial"—rather than "material"—and the atoms, ions, electrons of so-called "matter" are themselves found centers and vortices of vitality, charged perennially with spiritual energy and spiritual properties, acting according to rational (i. e., "spiritual") principles, laws, methods; so we turn with greater zeal and practical necessity to discover these Principles, and to apply them with more care in education, life and industry.

To this correlation of positive facts and forces by which man is surrounded, he has applied the term "Nature"; to its increasingly accurate analysis and understanding, he has applied the term "Science"; its explanation and inculcation he has called "Education"; and its personal and social experience by wise adjustment and application he calls "Life"—*versus* the haphazard "existence" of the animal (in ignorance or sloth).

Since his human organism is found to be the most highly complex and perfected product of existence known to him on this planet, and in a certain sense a condensed epitome of nature's methods, it has been his egotistic tendency to over-estimate himself in the social whole, and sacrifice all other organisms and individuals to himself; and even to anthropomorphize nature, its primal plans, principles and energies; its supreme and over-ruling providences; into some replica of himself with all his human susceptibilities, frailties, passions, etc.; and to go through stages of brutal fetish, terror, force, greed, selfish appetite in material attainment; or intellectual craft, cunning, calculation, over-reaching plot, for pride of brain; or still more volcanic and harassing throes

of emotional passion in love, hate, zeal, self-immolation, self-adulation, etc., all the way from a Moqui snake-dance or the self-stultification of St. Stylites, to the arrogance of a Borgia, or egotism of a Nietzsche; in order to appease his moral and emotional life. All the limitations, passions, struggles, vanities, ambitions, or spasms of transition through which his evolution in nature is being advanced by experience and inductive reason, he has thrust upon his perfect concept of God, fashioned to represent his own personal terrors or joys, his pains or his enthusiasms. And this again is inevitable and natural; and ethics and religion, like morality, culture and industrial arts, are found to be as much in progressive unfoldment, and by general cosmic processes, as are the celestial nebulae or "the stars in their courses"!

Like a spiral roadway up a mountain, the unfolding march of Time compels man to take ever-higher and broader views of the stupendous mass of facts about him and within him; above him in the macrocosms of astronomy, beneath him in the microcosms of chemistry, within him in the mysteries of self-hood and of society; of mind, reason, conscience, heart, imagination and creative will; led ever by the sacred beacon lights of hope and faith, the angels of eternal progress and principle.

As he lays his body down in the dust, or sees his beloved ones fade from his grasp into the Unknown, together with all his vanishing ambitions or possessions, there ever remains behind his fading flesh, that enduring "Skeleton-of-Structure," revealing its ordered relations of Unity, Harmony, delicately balanced Symmetries, and metrical Cadences of adjustment in Number, Proportion, Disposition, and Fitness to time, space and purpose; pressing home upon his children the eternal presence of abiding Plan in Wisdom, Beauty and Rational Law, to which all destiny must ultimately conform. These are now becoming the object of supreme interest and practical research, for on them we find everything in our life depends! Says Professor Dol-

bear: "Every physical phenomenon runs back at last into an Etheric Principle." And this is seen to be an attribute of "Spirit" or Intellectual Ratiocination. And another philosopher aptly adds: "The supreme result of all scientific progress is the revelation of the simplicity rather than complexity of all Law. Man is advancing to an intelligent grasp and reverent recognition of the series of Natural Laws that govern the Universe, whose *marvelous scope and adaptability exceed in power and beauty anything imagination could conceive!*"

What Holy Writ primordially and poetically suggested in those majestic lines of its poet, King David:

"The heavens declare the glory of God;  
The firmament sheweth his Handiwork.  
Day unto day uttereth speech,  
Night unto night sheweth Wisdom.

There is no speech nor language where their voice is not heard."

Or through its later Apostle:

"Doth not even Nature itself teach you?

The invisible things of God are clearly seen in the things *He has made.*"

are now reëchoed in our own mightiest voices of science, philosophy, prophecy and poetry; as where Whitman sings so gloriously to us all:

"Air, soil, water, fire—these are *Words!*  
I myself am *A Word* with them!  
My qualities interpenetrate with theirs,  
The great masters know the Earth's Words  
And are themselves more than audible words.

The truths of the earth continually wait,

They are *not to be concealed*, either!

They are imbued *through all things*,

Conveying themselves willingly.

To Her children the words of the eloquent dumb

Mother never fail!

The true words do not fail

—for motion does not fail

—and reflection does not fail!

Also day and night do not fail!

And the voyage we pursue does not fail!

Wherever you are, Motion and Reflection are especially *for you*

The Divine Ship sails the Divine Sea *for you*.

For none more than *you* is Immortality.

The song is to the singer, and comes back most to *him!*

The teaching is to the teacher and comes back most to *him!*"

Thus to-day our most human and educational conscience is coming back more and more wholesomely, directly, sympa-



thetically, practically, to Nature Herself—better understood, better loved, better interpreted, and better *applied to life*. And we are casting away the outworn, crushing, corrupting and stifling methods born of artificial and conventional systems, amid congested cities and scheming sects.

It is amazing how widespread and general throughout foremost modern nations is this cosmic and international appeal—this reorientation of thought and practical method. It is showing its resistless appeal and regenerative power along multiplex lines, not merely scientific, ethical and educational, but political, social, economic and commercial; for travel and commerce join obvious hands with intellectual research, moral sympathy, collective experiences, necessities and conditions, to weld together the processes and interests of modern life; and every thrill of change or stress of invention is felt intuitively and instantly throughout the more and more sensitized whole.

Hence not only are peace congresses, international exhibitions, arbitration boards, and clearing-houses of thought and industry multiplying and unifying opinion, but clearly revealing New Principles of social coöperation, political coördination, and industrial interchange; as well as better educational methods in closer harmony with these irresistible influences.

Subjective and objective modes of enlightenment; deductive and inductive methods of investigation; cultural and constructive processes of inculcation; theoretic and practical forms of expression, broadly uniting *all* sides of truth and experience, and closely associating these, from childhood up, directly with vital and personal relation in daily life between teacher and student, added to the closest acquaintance with outdoor nature, productive process, industrial exigency—these are become the newer, saner, wholesomer, happier, “more natural” methods of our best educational effort.

It strives to prepare most broadly and appropriately the growing generations for

these enlarging necessities and efficiencies of our *broader* modern outlook. Woe to the pettier pedantries and sterile provincialisms of threadbare systems grown obsolete with time! Thus we find new institutions starting up, in many countries at once, along very parallel lines, striving to meet and answer the fuller and richer concept and conditions of the twentieth century.

In England at Abbotsholme, under Doctor Reddie; in Germany, the Landerziehungsheim of Doctor Lietz; at Ilsenburg, in the Hartz; Haubinda in Thuringia, and Schloss Bieberstein near Frankfort; Glarisegg in Switzerland, on the shore of Lake Constance, under Frei and Zuberbuhler as founders; and at La Porte, Indiana, under Dr. Edward Rumely and his coadjutors, while the last is just beginning and tentative, the success of the others has been so pronounced that they are being multiplied also in France, Sweden, Poland and elsewhere.

Heroic forerunners like Milton, Montaigne, Rousseau, Felenberg, Pestalozzi, Froebel, Ruskin, William Morris, Dorn Bosco, Dewey, and others, have been guiding public thought forward in many countries during the preceding century till the present time is ripe for virile and organic advances in the new direction named. They universally contain as chief elements of purpose, the supreme effort to unite, in some logical consistent way, *the life of the student with the entire movement of life around him; especially in the closest contact with nature's own life and life processes*. They strive to give the school a family character, in which all members organically unite in a common life of mutual and practical helpfulness and investigation—in class-room, laboratory, library, studio, field, forest, camp, or traveling excursions, so that intimacy may directly develop a deeper interest alike in persons and professional principles, practically seen in constant application and carried out under the direct examples of specialists.

The buildings are located sufficiently in the open country to associate, in one

harmonious whole, the sports, studies, and various experiences, necessary to a well-rounded, growing youth. The various departments of science, literature, art, mechanics, chemistry, agriculture, horticulture, forestry, and so forth, in close juxtaposition to practical applications. Many sources of illustration and inspiration abound and are seen on all their associated sides and mutual relations in the scheme of practical nature and social utility. And not only are students given every facility to test these facts, principles, and problems themselves directly—in and upon nature or her industries—but taken to visit and study their varied applications in adjacent or accessible localities, factories, farms, museums, and so forth.

As Professor John Dewey has well pointed out: "Verbal memory can be trained in committing tasks, and a certain discipline of reasoning power acquired through lessons in science and mathematics, but this is remote and shadowy compared with the training of the attention and judgment in having to DO things with a *Real* motive behind and a *Real* Outcome Ahead."

Time was, in our own country as in others, when a scattered rural community admitted of one side of that splendid personal discipline which comes from directly handling the raw materials necessary to home life, and participating personally in their production and manufacture. The lack of the other side, in general and social culture such as the growth of cities introduces, has so severely severed the first fundamental processes from the second finished stages of production in vast factories and agglomerated tenements, that social evil and physical diseases have been vastly and alarmingly increased. It is the object of the New Movement to unite these two extremes in a wholesomer and more organic conjunction, and in surroundings more sane and morally stimulating for the mind and character of formative youth. As it was my own purpose in my book *The Gate Beautiful*, and when directing for a quarter of a cen-

tury the Artist-Artisan Movement in Education at several institutions in the East and West, to combine the subjective and objective sides of Beauty throughout her many phases of expression, and bring to vital union the splendid associate possibilities in varied sides of this balanced equation of forces; so it is the plan of these schools to go even further than this in the variety of departments and associated branches, even more directly associated with nature and general culture than was my own. It is a still stronger movement to the front and should be widely welcomed and imitated.

Hence when we see at the head of such movements the condensed summary of their aspiration represented in such terms as these: To create such a center of varied activity, observation, reflection, executive ability, as shall introduce the Natural Way—from living experience, through living thought, to living achievement—in close contact with nature and life; teachers and pupils living together as a family; associating in unison the head, heart and hand, and developing all-sidedly the fullest interest in Life (subjective and objective) by individual effort and social spirit; by beneficent efficiency, force of character, will and judgment; by the emotional imaginative, appreciative and creative faculties in unison; and giving every healthy opportunity to realize sound moral and mental nature within a sane physical nature; and by joyous task or sport, adding the buoyancy and inspiration of Beauty, Utility, and Self-Reliance; we have, I believe, the dawning of a New Day for youth; the coming of a purer constituency for "society"; the establishment of a loftier ideal of Industry, a nobler, more manly and womanly probity as regards usefulness; and that sympathetic, intelligent, practical acquaintance with Real Life which will guarantee to earth that United Brotherhood of Man which has been the Divine Ideal, the Dream and Aspiration of Ages!

JOHN WARD STIMSON.

La Porte, Indiana.

## ROBERT INGERSOLL AFTER NINE YEARS: A STUDY.

By REV. J. T. SUNDERLAND, A.M.

NINE years have now passed since the death of Robert Ingersoll. Is it not possible after this length of time to look upon his work and influence without passion, and to form something like a just estimate as to their character and value?

Whether we approve or deprecate the views upon the Bible and religion held by this great iconoclast, there is no escaping the fact that by his lectures of unsurpassed eloquence, carried by the newspaper press everywhere and circulated widely in pamphlet form, he influenced in no small degree the popular religious thinking of his time. Has his influence been for good? or has it been for evil? And to what extent is it likely to be permanent?

As for myself, I watched Mr. Ingersoll's career throughout its later years with constant attention. I heard him lecture many times. I have read nearly every thing that he gave to the public in printed form—and the amount of his published matter is large, probably much larger than is generally supposed. For fifteen years I knew him personally, and I conversed with him much, and often very frankly and seriously on religious subjects. As a result, although my own views have always been far from his, I have never been able to believe otherwise than that he was entirely honest in his utterances. Whether on sufficient grounds or not, he was at least convinced of the truth of the things he spoke. He sincerely and earnestly believed that many of the conceptions commonly entertained regarding the Bible, God, salvation, the future world, and religion generally, were untrue, and immoral. He believed that in pointing this out, and in leveling against these conceptions all his shafts of logic, wit and invective, he was helping the progress of the world, and doing a service to humanity.

Of course, even with sincere and honest motives a man may do much harm. Calvin was probably honest when he put Servetus to death. Many of the Roman Catholic inquisitors doubtless had what seemed to them good motives when they broke heretics on the wheel. The Puritans of New England were sincere in hanging Quakers and persons accused of witchcraft. For a man to do what will result in good to the world instead of harm, he must have truth as well as honesty.

The conclusions to which I find myself driven, concerning Mr. Ingersoll, are three. First, that he had certain limitations—serious limitations for one who would deal with religious subjects; second, that in some respects his teachings were distinctly evil in their influence; third, that some of his teachings were true and important, and have already produced and will continue to produce effects of value to men and to religion.

### I.

Of the limitations of Mr. Ingersoll which impaired his fitness for dealing satisfactorily with the serious religious subjects, two seem to me noticeable.

First, he had an intense mind, but he had not an all-round mind. He was a born advocate, not a judge. No man could present one side of a case more brilliantly than he; but he always left you feeling that there was another side, and wishing for somebody to present that as brilliantly, so that you might have the whole case. This was notably true in all his lectures on the Bible and religion; and this was why the thousands who heard him and were carried fairly off their feet by his eloquence, were by no means so sure the next day, after they had had time to do a little cool thinking, that they wholly agreed with him, as they thought

they were at the close of his lecture the preceding night. Because of this want of judicial quality in his mind, and of all-round fairness in dealing with subjects, he was always more fascinating as a lecturer than really convincing.

His second limitation was in the direction of his religious nature. He seemed to have no sense of reverence, no faculty of worship, no feeling of the Divine reality or presence, or of his own need of God. Most minds, I think all complete and normal minds, postulate, as a necessity to their own thinking, an Intelligence in the universe higher than their own, from whom both the order of the world and their own intelligence have somehow come. But Mr. Ingersoll did not seem to require any such thought of a Superior Mind. His recognition of his dependence on his fellow-men was clear and distinct, but he had no recognition of dependence on God. It was if a planet should confess its relation to its fellow-planets, but not to the sun from which it and they all derived their existence. The thought of God, instead of drawing, seemed to repel him. Such great lines of religious insight as Isaac Watts'

"Oh, God, our help in ages past,  
Our hope for years to come,  
Our shelter from the stormy blast,  
And our eternal home,"

seemed to awaken no response in his soul, and really to have no meaning to him.

I think we must say that his lack on the upward, the divine, the godward side of his nature, was a limitation, and a limitation that affects all his writings on religion, giving them a superficiality which is very apparent and often painful. The great realities of religion can only be written about intelligently by one who *feels* their reality; just as music can be written about intelligently only by one who has music in his soul, or art by one who feels the reality of beauty.

These two lacks in Mr. Ingersoll's mind seem to go far toward accounting for his being an agnostic. He was not an atheist, as some have accused him of

being. He had too keen a mind to commit the absurdity of affirming that God is not. He simply said, "I have no clear or sufficient evidence that God is."

I think the same lacks account also for the feebleness of his hold upon the thought of immortality. He did not deny immortality. On the contrary, he often spoke of it as a beautiful hope, and one that might with some reason be entertained. In his well-known address delivered at the funeral of his brother, he declared, "In the night of death, hope sees a star, and listening love can hear the rustling of a wing. He who sleeps here, when dying, mistaking the approach of death for the return of health, whispered with his last breath, 'I am better now.' Let us believe, in spite of doubts and dogmas and tears and fears, that these dear words are true of all the countless dead." His perhaps still better known address delivered at the grave of a friend's child, he closed with these words, "We, too, have our religion, and it is this: Help for the living—hope for the dead."

It is something, it is much, to have such a hope. But the Christian world believes that there is something better still for men. It is a hope that does not tremble and flicker, but that burns with a clear and steady flame. It is a hope rising into faith—a faith that sees the future reality as if it were present, and finds in it a constant comfort and inspiration for daily life.

## II.

Let me notice now some ways in which I cannot but think Mr. Ingersoll did harm.

First, he treated the Bible unfairly. Many of his utterances concerning the Bible were true, and needed to be spoken. Many of the errors, "mistakes of Moses" and of other biblical writers, self-contradictions, unscientific statements, immoral teachings and practices, and low representations of God which he was accustomed to point out in the Old Testament, are simply undeniable. We may wish they were not there, but they are. We



may try to explain them away or cover them up, but it is of no use. Every respectable biblical scholar of our day admits that they are there. Nor does a man need to be a biblical scholar to see them. He only needs to be an honest man, reading with ordinary intelligence.

What we have a right to complain of is that Mr. Ingersoll gave to these imperfections a prominence that does not belong to them, and because of them unjustly condemned the whole book.

What would be thought of a man who, professing to give us a correct picture of a state should paint for us only its sands and marshes and barren mountain-sides, leaving out its fertile hills and valleys, its grain fields and orchards, its country homes and lovely villages and thriving cities? Yet, this is essentially what Mr. Ingersoll did systematically and persistently in his lectures and writings on the Bible. The truth is, the Bible is a great and valuable book entirely aside from and in spite of its mistakes and its crudities of science (which, coming as they did from an age before science was born, it could not but contain), and in spite of traces of certain social, moral and religious barbarisms which were a part of that early time.

Mr. Ingersoll protested against full-grown men in the nineteenth century believing such stories as those of a talking serpent, a speaking ass, a spring bursting out of a jawbone, a stream of water following the Israelites up hill and down through the desert, a woman made out of a human rib, Noah and his ark, Jonah and the whale. And he was right in his protest. To try in our day to believe that such pious legends and myths are historic facts is to debase one's intellect and trample upon reason.

He protested against the idea that an infinitely wise and good Being could do such things as command Joshua to drive out the Canaanites from their houses and murder them, men, women and innocent babes; or inspire David to curse his enemies and to pray that their little ones

might be dashed against a stone; or give orders to Moses sanctioning human slavery; or command witches to be put to death; or curse the world, dooming untold millions of human beings to sin and misery in this life, and in the next to everlasting torments, because of the eating of an apple by Adam and Eve in a Paradise garden. This protest was just and needed—needed in the interest of morality, needed in the interest of religion. I do not complain of it. But I complain that he laid an emphasis upon these things such as made them seem the chief part of the Bible, when they are not. I complain that he persistently ignored, as if it had had no existence, that other far larger and more conspicuous part of the Bible which is all aglow with things pure, true, tender, sweet, noble, heroic. I complain that he ignored the Twenty-third Psalm, and many others equally lofty, and the magnificent closing chapters of Isaiah, and the noble poem of Job, and the garnered wisdom of the Proverbs, and the ringing condemnations of wrong and impassioned pleas for righteousness with which the Prophets abound, and the matchless Sermon on the Mount, and the Parables of Jesus, and Paul's golden chapter on "Charity," and all those noble parts of the Bible which can no more be left out in any fair treatment of the book than the sun, moon and stars of first magnitude can be left out in any proper study of astronomy. What the world needs is not to throw the Bible away, but to treasure its good, and lay aside that in it which is outgrown.

Another way in which it seems clear that Mr. Ingersoll did harm, was, in treating *religion* unfairly. Indeed, he treated religion as unfairly as he did the Bible. While now and then, in some very slight way, he drew the line between good religion and bad, intelligent and unintelligent, reasonable and unreasonable, ethical and unethical, too generally he jumbled all together and condemned or made light of all, with little or no discrimination.

True, in nearly every age of the past, and in nearly every land of the world, religion has been allied with much that is dark and cruel. In the name of religion, dungeons have been built, martyr fires have been kindled, persecutions have been waged, blighting superstitions have been laid upon men's minds. In the name of religion, too often, the bigoted and the bad have held the reins of power, and the noble, the intelligent and the good have been overridden and trodden in the dust. But this does not make it true that religion has been only a curse to the world, or a greater curse than a blessing. These facts argue for reform, not for annihilation of religion. Shall we wish to annihilate our rivers because some of them sometimes overflow their banks, and destroy property or create malaria? Shall we say, better that there be no fire in the world, because fire sometimes burns us, destroys our homes, sweeps out of existence great cities? Shall we say that the sun is a curse because by its shining it smites down the traveler in the desert? On the contrary, fire and river and sun are all good. So, no less, is religion. Religion is a fire that has warmed the world as no other fire has. Religion is a river the stream whereof makes glad the weary hearts of men as no other stream has ever made them glad. Religion is a sun which has shone upon the world with a light than which none holier or more life-giving has ever fallen on humanity. The time has not yet come when burdened, sorrowing, struggling, sinning men can give up the hope, the consolation, the strength, the incentive to duty, the moral girding that come from religion.

It will always remain a ground for just criticism of Mr. Ingersoll that in the treatment of sacred things he was irreverent and flippant. To be sure, he insisted that people regard things as sacred which they ought not to regard thus, and that the quickest way to open their eyes is to laugh at them; just as the Psalmist of old laughed at the idols which men in his day worshiped, which had eyes, yet saw

not, ears, yet heard not, and hands, yet handled not; and just as Elijah laughed at the prophets of Baal when they could not kindle the altar wood with fire from heaven. Doubtless there is something of truth in this view. We may very well appreciate not a little of Mr. Ingersoll's wit and humor and good-natured raillery, and even sarcasm. And yet, surely there are some things in this world that are too holy to be trodden over by the thoughtless feet of laughter and jokes. Surely there are some places where if men go it should be with soft tread, reverent tone, and uncovered head. Mr. Ingersoll seemed to forget this. Thus he pained the hearts not only of the ignorant and the narrow, but of many of the most intelligent and broad-minded men and women. And at the same time he set a sort of fashion among those who heard him and were fascinated with his fine powers, of irreverent and flippant dealing with the most sacred things of religion and life, the evil influence of which has not yet passed away.

### III.

I come now to the questions, Did Mr. Ingersoll do any good? and if so, what? Here I find myself compelled to speak quite as emphatically as on the other points considered. Notwithstanding his limitations and his evil influence in some ways, in certain important directions I believe he did much good.

First, to look at his character outside of what is generally considered religion, he was a very humane man.

He opposed capital punishment, because he believed that it does not serve the ends of justice, and because he would not legalize the taking of human life.

He opposed vivisection (at least, vivisection as too often practiced) on the ground of its unjustifiable cruelty.

At the time of the anti-slavery struggle, he was on the side of the slave, believing that a man with a black skin had as much right to his freedom as a man with a white skin.

He pleaded the cause of our much-abused and much-wronged Indians.

Women, children and the home never had a warmer friend than he. Always his heart was warm and his tongue eloquent for the suffering, the wronged, the dependent.

He had a great dislike for war. He served for a time in the war for the Union, and with no lack of bravery; but he said he could never fire at the enemy without thinking of those who were being made widows and orphans. This was a great credit to him. How well would it be if some of our so-called "Christian" fighters who slaughter men seemingly without a twinge of conscience, would learn a lesson in humanity and Christianity from this so-called "infidel"!

His quick sympathy and strong sense of justice felt deeply the wrong of the war of "criminal aggression" carried on in the Philippines, and he lifted up his voice to declare: "Our arms are not adding glory to the flag, but staining that starry emblem of freedom with the blood and the tears of a people fighting for the right of self-government."

But we need not confine ourselves to humanitarian matters. Mr. Ingersoll rendered important service to religion.

For one thing, with the terribly keen lance of his wit and satire, he pricked the bubbles of many ecclesiastical and theological shams, hypocrisies, pretenses, make-believes. For this he was not generally thanked, but it was a real service to the world, and to religion, all the same.

A second thing he did. He gave the world what ought to have been recognized as a lesson in faith. The world called Mr. Ingersoll a skeptic, and calls him so still. In some respects doubtless he was. But in certain directions, and those very fundamental, he was a man of splendid and unwavering faith. He had faith in reason. He believed in inquiry, and in search for truth. He believed that all truth is safe. There is no higher or more important form of faith than this. Contrast this with the so-called faith of those

religious teachers who warn men against trusting reason, who fear free inquiry, and who denounce the higher criticism of the Bible as skepticism and infidelity! If our churches had half as much faith in truth as Mr. Ingersoll had, we should hear less talk about heresy, and see less opposition to progress in religious thought.

In some other directions Mr. Ingersoll had faith. He had faith in right, in justice, in the Golden Rule, in the brotherhood of man, in love, in peace, in the moral order of the universe. It was because he had faith in right that he denounced wrong, even when he found it in the Bible. It was because he had faith in justice and love that he refused to believe in any God who could hate a part of the human race or create an eternal hell. It was because he had faith in the Golden Rule and the brotherhood of man, that he defended the black, the red and the brown man's rights, as just as sacred as the white man's. It was because he had faith in peace that he took his stand by the side of Jesus Christ, the Prince of Peace, in saying to Christendom—that Christendom which has always been so ready to draw the sword at every excuse—"Put up your sword into its sheath." When the Christian church gets more of such Christ-like faith as Mr. Ingersoll showed in these matters, the kingdom of heaven will come more speedily upon earth.

Perhaps the most important religious service of all that Mr. Ingersoll rendered to his generation was, that he startled it into thinking.

Persons who are in the habit of thinking for themselves, naturally take it for granted that everybody else does the same. No mistake could be greater. Independent thinking is rare everywhere, but it is far more rare in connection with religion than anywhere else—because for centuries on centuries the religious world has been educated into the belief that it must not think, except in conformity with certain prescribed standards.

Mr. Ingersoll more than perhaps any

other man of his time compelled men to *think*, whether they would or not. Looking about him he saw men everywhere holding views of the Bible which he believed had no basis in fact, and which made the volume a fetter upon the human mind; beliefs about God, which, under the pretense of honoring God, he believed blackened God's character, and made him a tyrant and a monster; beliefs about man's origin and nature and history on the earth, which he believed to be unscientific, opposed to fact, and in the highest degree depressing; beliefs about the future which fill that future with horror. In an enlightened age like ours why do men continue to hold such beliefs? he inquired. His answer was: Because they do not think, because they do not exercise reason, because they separate religion from the rest of life; while they think and inquire regarding everything else, in religious matters they shut their eyes and suppose it wicked to inquire. Mr. Ingersoll said: "I will do what I can to change this. No work can be more important. I will make men see; I will make men think." And he did. By his eloquence, by his wit, by his ridicule, by his humor, by his retorts, by his scathing denunciations, by his fiery invectives, by his jokes, by the many-sidedness and brilliancy and very extravagance of his speech, he set tens of thousands to thinking for themselves on religious subjects, who had never thought for themselves on these matters before.

True, when men have not been accustomed to think, but have always followed automatically the old traditions, until suddenly, under the stimulus of an iconoclast like Ingersoll, they are awakened, and dare to burst their bonds and assert their intellectual independence, they are in some danger for a time of making wild work; just as water, when it bursts its dam, is likely at first to make wild work.

But the remedy is not ceasing to think, as some would have us believe. The remedy is time and more thinking.

What will be the final result of all this

new awakening of thought and inquiry which is making its appearance and which has been caused partly by men like Mr. Ingersoll—this testing of theological foundations; this re-reading of the Bible in the light of reason and science and free inquiry; this trying of every doctrine of Christianity as it was never tried before? Every decade seems to make the answer more clear and certain. The result will be, ideas of the Bible more intelligent, more reasonable, more true, and in the end more helpful to men: conceptions of God elevated and purified; conceptions of humanity ennobled, and a religion more rational, more progressive, more practical, more ethical, more acceptable to thoughtful men, more beneficent in its influence upon the world.

Men like Mr. Ingersoll are the product of the theology which has been long dominant in Christendom. Given a theology so speculative, so unreasonable, so full of cruelty and injustice, so burdened with low ideas of God and human nature, so hostile to freedom of thought and to religious progress as much of the theology of Christendom has been, and then, given, many Christian churches, preachers and religious teachers, bent on holding on to that theology in spite of reason and the growing intelligence of our modern age, and it was inevitable that Ingersolls should arise, to protest, to expostulate, to scoff, to strike out in wild ways for freedom from the bondage, and to smite fiercely the good sometimes with the evil.

There is no way to prevent the rise of Ingersolls, except to give the world a religion satisfying to the heart and conscience and reason of men. Give us a Christianity that is really light and love, and men like Mr. Ingersoll, if they take a stand regarding it at all, will be on its side.

Concerning Jesus, Ingersoll said, "To that great and serene peasant of Galilee I gladly pay the tribute of my admiration and my tears. I see in him a great and genuine man. If he should come to the earth again he would find me his friend." Would Jesus refuse Mr. Ingersoll's friend-



ship? I cannot believe it. I like to believe that Jesus is the friend of many who have never been known by his name. I like to think of Jesus and Buddha as friends. I like to think of Jesus and Socrates, and Jesus and Epictetus, as friends. If there is a world of light to which noble souls go, how can they fail to find one another? If Jesus is now what he was on earth, surely we must believe that he has love and welcome for one who preached so earnestly as Mr. Ingersoll did for half a lifetime one-half of his Gospel—that of Human Brotherhood—even if those agnostic eyes were too dim to see the other glorious half—that of the Divine Paternity.

Whatever there may have been in Mr. Ingersoll or his teaching that deserves to be condemned, at least for one thing all right-minded men should give him honor: He dared to think for himself, and to stand by his convictions at any cost.

And the cost was not light. In the later years of his life he received large pay for his utterances. It was not so always. For many years his "infidelity" was an expensive thing, something which stood right across his path to professional success, to popularity, to wealth, to political preferment. Men would not employ him as a lawyer because he was an

"infidel." Caucuses would not nominate him, the people would not vote for him, because he was an "infidel." Aside from his "infidelity" he early became the most popular man in the West. When asked what it cost him to publish his book containing the oration on "The Gods," he replied, "It cost me the governorship of Illinois." Everybody understood that there was hardly a position within the gift of the people that might not have been his, if he had been a member of an evangelical church. Many urged him to "keep still" regarding his unpopular views on religion. He answered, "It is much more important for me to do what I can to give men light, and to break down religious superstition and bigotry, than it is to be Senator from Illinois or United States minister to a foreign power."

In an age like ours, when brave and honest thinking is so much at a discount, and when such multitudes of men before they speak inquire, What is politic? What is the popular thing to say? we may well be grateful for the example of a man, whether he was on our side or not, and whether he uttered our words or not,—who had the courage to think for himself, and who dared to speak what he believed true.

J. T. SUNDERLAND.

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## "WHY RACE-SUICIDE WITH ADVANCING CIVILIZATION?" A REPLY.

BY SOLOMON SCHINDLER.

IN THE December (1908) number of THE ARENA I propounded the above question, and in the February (1909) number of the same magazine there appeared three answers from the pens of eminent sociologists. The Rev. John Haynes Holmes, Mrs. Rose Pastor Stokes and Mrs. Helen Campbell, all well-known in the literary world, did me the honor to offer an answer to my query in articles which amply paid for their perusal be-

cause they supplied the readers of THE ARENA with excellent food for thought.

None could have read their opinions on that subject with keener interest, greater pleasure and more grateful appreciation than did I; therefore do I crave sincerely their pardon when I maintain that none of these writers have hit the bull's-eye of the target, that in fact they have not even touched the "why" of my question.

Perhaps it is not to be wondered at that

they should have stumbled into a pitfall. In their eagerness to find and propose a remedy, a panacea for the evil which they could not help but admit, they changed the sights of their guns and their shots went astray.

It is not my purpose to critically review their otherwise admirable articles. To be sure, the readers of *THE ARENA* are intelligent and able judges who need no interpreter to tell them what an article contains. Still I will remind them that all three of these writers agreed with me and conceded that race-suicide with advancing civilization is a fact and not merely the nightmare of a bilious pessimist. The cause of the evil they ascribed to either a growing sense of responsibility by which the "civilized" parent is oppressed, or to the unsound social conditions of the present age which permit the rich to exploit the poor, the employer to take advantage of the needs of the laborer. In either case they say a new order of things would remove the evil tendencies. They claimed that a regulated or restricted propagation of the species has the advantage of offering quality in place of quantity; they also held that mere poverty prevents parents from raising a numerous progeny. These claims would hold good if race-suicide were found only among the submerged and unintelligent classes, but quite to the contrary. The upper middle classes and the rich are as much and more affected by the evil than are the poor. After all my question was not: What can be done or what should be done to check race-suicide, but merely what are its causes, or, rather, why does it appear simultaneously with advanced civilization? Molded in another form the question would be: Why do we not find it among the people of the East who do absolutely nothing in a communal way for the welfare of the child, while it has risen to be a danger in Western countries where nation, state and communality vie with one another to secure for the child the best opportunities for a useful and happy life? Should not the very efforts of advanced civilization naturally reduce to a minimum the fear of the

parent, lessen the personal responsibility and defy poverty?

The causes for the tendency to race-suicide which goes with advancing civilization must, therefore, be sought elsewhere, even at the risk that when found no cure could be discovered. Will the interested reader follow me now in my research?

Every living organism from the smallest to the largest is composed of independent yet inter-dependent cells. The very fibers of our nervous system are merely colonies of neurons that hold together as if by mutual consent. These cells are charged with vital forces that are yet unknown to us. They live, multiply and die to be replaced by the offspring. In the life of any organism there will be found a time of expansion or growth until a certain point of perfection is reached. During that period the cells will vigorously propagate their diminutive species. Then will come a time of decline. The organism having reached the height of its destination will cease to expand and will begin to deteriorate until finally it will pass away in death. In that state the cells, too, will lose their vital expanding forces and cease to multiply as vigorously as they did heretofore.

This observation can be verified every day and particularly on the human being. We go through infancy, childhood, boyhood and manhood to a certain climax when the decline begins that no power in the world can retard or check. Old age comes and we totter to the grave. The same colonies of cells which in our youth have made us bloom in beauty and strength are acting as deteriorating and destructive forces when the downward course of life sets in. The first symptom of their decadence is that they fail to multiply in the same degree as they did before, that they lose their virility.

A people, a nation and a race, a species, is an organic body precisely like the human organism or the organism of an animal, plant, yea, a mineral. We men and women are merely independent yet inter-dependent cells of the larger com-

munity. Generations come and go, making up the life of the larger organism, which is subject to the same laws as are the cells that help to compose it. It has its own life. A people is born, passes to childhood, boyhood, manhood, to a certain apparently foreordained perfection or ripeness which we may call *civilization*, and then it begins to go down, down to death.

The history of mankind is unfortunately a lost book to us. We have in our possession only the few last torn pages of the perished volumes. If we knew what the previous pages contained we might receive indisputable evidence that many civilizations have preceded ours. Empires, nations and races have come and gone after they had run their course. Whatever little we know of the past shows us that whenever a nation had reached the climax of its life, its ripeness, it became senile and its decay was always accompanied by a tendency to race-suicide among the cells, the human beings composing it. Race-suicide was almost invariably the first symptom of the decline of a civilization. The apple, when ripe, began to rot. Always after the climax of life was attained, always after a certain height of civilization was reached, did race-suicide appear, which is not a mere mania, a mere whim, but a natural law. The tendency to race-suicide can be likened to the disappearance of the joys of sex when senility approaches.

I hope that I have now shown the "why" of my previous questions. However, if the reader should ask me what remedy I could offer for what is known as and called an evil, I would fail to answer. We might as well ask for an elixir of life to retard or stop the approach of death. The wheel of civilization can be turned backwards with as little success as we could return by some process from manhood to childhood. As we men are forced to grow to maturity, so a nation is forced onward to the maturity of its civilization. Even the advice to return to the simple life may be well meant, but will remain forever a pious resolution. The

man who has learned to amuse himself with playing at billiards will never return to the once cherished game of marbles.

Every life carries within itself the germ of death. The microscopic cell as well as man or a race or a nation *must* ultimately die. We are the successors of past civilization. A new civilization will succeed ours. We must not measure time by the yard-stick of the human life. It is as absurd as would be the attempt to measure a human life by the life of a nerve cell. In our declining years even with the full knowledge dictated by experience that eventually we must die, we are loath to believe that the hour of final dissolution is near; so will it ever be difficult to convince people that as a social body they will pass away some day into oblivion; that their boasted civilization is nothing but the state of ripeness which precedes the downfall. They will as little understand or wish to understand a symptom such as is race-suicide as does an octogenarian understand or wish to understand the symptoms of his failing health.

It will not surprise me at all when these, my deductions, will be shoved aside by many readers with the exclamation: "Black pessimism! Gross materialism!" True, our innate craving for existence shudders at the idea of death. His mental outfit will not permit man to think of himself as non-existent. That is a limitation of our brain power. I do, therefore, not care what labels will be affixed to me. No matter what opiate might be contained in the term "spirituality," who can deny that we are "matter" and as such subject to the laws of matter. If the daily experience that death feeds on life, and life feeds on death is to be called pessimism, would another name change the fact? The closing of one's eyes to facts will never alter them; the proverbial ostrich might hide his head in order not to see the hunter, but that action of the bird will never remove his danger of being shot. The worst and most ridiculous of delusions is self-delusion.

SOLOMON SCHINDLER.

Mattapan, Massachusetts.

## JESUS, WOMAN AND DIVORCE.

BY REV. ROLAND D. SAWYER.

THERE are two great forces that in the past fifty years have been mightily operating toward the emancipation of woman: First, the changing industrial life which is giving her an economic independence; she is becoming no longer economically dependent on man, but can go out and earn her own living. Second, the teachings of Socialism. However one regard the economic program of Socialism, the preaching of its doctrines are having a great effect on the thought of the day. Religion and art, as well as politics and economics, are being transformed by it, and in this transformation woman is coming to the front as the equal of man. Nowhere is this seen more forcibly than in the changing view-point toward the marriage institution. The harsh view of the past, which thrust down upon the head of woman the thorny crown of perpetual union with a man, however horrible such a union might be, which thrust her into a condition of slavery to drudgery, to bear and bury children—all this is slowly being removed.

Nowhere is this changing attitude so clearly set forth as in Bebel's *Woman Under Socialism*. This book is a library of information and analysis, but in one particular we are persuaded that Bebel falls into error. He says: "Jesus of Nazareth had the same contempt for womankind that is found always in the Oriental mind."

Bebel's error arises from the fact that he assumes that the historic positions of the church correctly set forth Jesus' attitude. Now I propose to show that such is not so, and that the positions of the Catholic church, which says no divorce, and of the Protestant church, which says divorce for intolerable conditions but no remarriage, have no warrant whatsoever in Jesus' teachings. Let us then examine

the teachings and attitude of Jesus of Nazareth toward woman and divorce.

So acute a thinker as Professor Peabody of Harvard University says that "in the matter of marriage and divorce we have the only aspect of social life concerning which Jesus descends from the announcing of general principles to prescribe specific legislation." So says Professor Seely and most of the commentators; in fact, this is the generally accepted position in the church.

But on the other hand, so profound a man as Professor Bowne of Boston University says: "The utterances of Jesus in the New Testament are not to be looked upon as final legislation in this matter. I am confirmed in this view by the fact that Christ seems to have contented himself with announcing general principles elsewhere, and also by the fact that Paul seems to have had quite another view of the matter."

And there are quite a number of scholars of repute to agree with Professor Bowne. Now when doctors thus disagree we must do a little investigating for ourselves, however great the risk, and we ask what did Jesus really teach? To understand His attitude we must understand the condition of his time. "Womanhood and workingmen have had one thing in common—oppression." It seems strange that the mothers who have borne and reared the race, and the workers who have labored and sustained it should have been so cruelly treated by it, but such is the fact.

Plato thanked the gods for eight favors, and the second was that he was not a woman. The devout Jew of Jesus' day in his morning prayer thanked Jehovah that he was not a woman; and well he might, for nowhere has man been more bloodthirsty and brutal than in his treat-



ment of his female mate. Jesus Christ was a reformer, his mission was to uplift humanity, and he began to uplift where it was most downtrodden—the women and the workers. History shows no record of any leader who had a following of women like Jesus of Nazareth. As he went through the cities and villages the women ministered to him of their substance; nowhere in the New Testament is it recorded that he received any salary or support save that which came from women. The names of Magdalene, Susanna, Salome, the Marys, are all handed down to us, while the names of male followers are lost. Women rejoiced that in him they found the first one to give them justice, respect their worth and lift his voice in their behalf for the betterment of their condition. Even when the farce of a trial that ended in his death was being enacted, it was a heathen woman, Pilate's wife, who, appreciating Jesus' work for her sex, lifted her voice in his behalf. And when the mob hurried him to the place of crucifixion, "a great company of women followed with tears, lamenting and bewailing him." Remembering that this was Jesus' attitude toward women, and remembering her condition was degraded and enslaved, let us ask what was his teaching to her on the marriage relation.

It is recorded in two places in the Gospels: first, in the Sermon on the Mount, and later elaborated and repeated in answer to the questions of the ecclesiastics on the matter. In the first instance, Jesus said: "Ye have heard it said, Thou shalt not commit adultery, but I say unto you, whoever looks on a woman and lusts after her commits adultery. It was said also, Whosoever puts away his wife, let him give her a bill of divorcement, but I say every one who puts away his wife, save for unfaithfulness, makes her an adulteress: and whosoever shall marry her commits adultery."

Now this is directed entirely to men and is for men; it is an enjoinder upon them of honorable treatment of women in the

matter of chastity, and a command as to their treatment of women as their wives, and saying to them that their putting their wives away as they did was wrong unless the wife had been untrue. There is here no legislation, no discussion even of marriage and divorce, no reference to the customs of monogamy and polygamy, both of which were practiced all about him, but a *defense of the rights of woman*.

Let us look to the fuller teaching of Jesus recorded in the Gospel, brought out when the ecclesiastics inquired about this teaching of his. They asked: "Is it lawful for a man to put away his wife for every cause?" Notice this question—Is it lawful for a man to put away his wife? It was the question of the Pharisaic schools of Shammai and Hillel, one school contending that unchastity was the only cause for divorce, the other saying that divorce could be for almost any cause—poor cooking, and the like. The right of a woman to divorce a husband had no place in Hebrew thought; hence the appeal to Jesus was merely to settle a point of the Jewish law, and it cannot be stretched into a matter of legislation for an entirely different condition of affairs two thousand years later. It may contain a principle we can follow, a spirit to apply, but nothing more. In the question asked there was no thought of the abstract question of divorce, no idea of a woman's right to be divorced, but merely, could a man set his wife adrift whenever he wanted? And Jesus' answer to this question was: "He (God) that made them from the beginning, made them male and female. For this cause shall a man leave father and mother and shall cleave to his wife; and the twain shall become one flesh. What therefore God hath joined together let not man put asunder. And I say to you, whosoever shall put away his wife, except for fornication, and shall marry another, commits adultery: and he that marrieth her when she is put away commits adultery."

This answer analyzed is:

First: God made the sexes, male and female; they are of equal dignity and worth.

Second: Marriage is right between the sexes; the two make one flesh as the Hebrew puts it—"the entire man." Or, as Kant says, "Man and woman jointly constitute the complete being; one sex supplements the other. And so modern science agrees, that the sex-relation is neither moral nor immoral, but necessary."

Third: A reiteration of his former declaration as to the rights of woman.

That is all there is in the teachings of Jesus on divorce. The contention of the ritualistic churches vanishes upon investigation, and their position is unwarranted in any of the sayings of Jesus that have been preserved to us. All that Jesus taught was: (1) the lawfulness of marriage; (2) the ideal that the monogamic union was best; (3) that, as Robert Dale Owen pointed out in his debate with Horace Greely, "the teachings of Jesus,

fairly construed, designate that where there is that infidelity of heart which defeats the purpose of marriage there is cause for divorce."

So, then, instead of Jesus having a contempt for woman, we find him her first great friend in history; and instead of his teachings being to suppress divorce, we find them the fountain-head of greater freedom in the marriage contract. As Governor Altgeld once said, "The number of divorces is in proportion to the progress made in the emancipation of woman." This is an emancipation that Jesus himself started, for which he must receive the credit or bear the blame. In those countries where the teachings of Jesus are not found, and where women are still beasts of burden, there are found no divorces, and the marriage contract is still the same one-sided, unjust, harsh affair as was that of the day and country of Jesus, and against which his great heart so justly rebelled.

ROLAND D. SAWYER.

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## THE DAWN OF CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT IN THE ORIENT.

BY RAIMOHAN DUTTA.

A WELL-KNOWN editor in offering opposition to the granting of constitutional government to peoples supposed to be incapable of conducting their affairs, has observed:

"No people can enjoy the reality of constitutional government until it acquires political habits and discipline."

Now, while it is true that a people unschooled in self-government will be liable to make mistakes and fall far short of those who have long been accustomed to govern themselves, it is equally true that the only way for a people to learn to rule themselves is by practice, which will give them the proficiency that comes only

through the discipline of experience. Tyrants have always urged that the people could not govern themselves, while the people have very frequently thought otherwise, even where the ruling class has been of the same blood and tongue. The child learns to walk after repeated trials, but the fact that he falls now and again is no valid reason for keeping him forever in a cradle. The swimmer makes many unsuccessful attempts before he becomes proficient; yet if he always remained on land he would never learn to swim. So it is in regard to infant nations and peoples who yearn for self-government. They might and doubtless would make many

mistakes, fail now and again, but every such failure would help them to master the great problem nearest their heart. The ardent and long-cherished dream of a nation for representative government promises capacity after trial and actual experiment have given them the needed experience. Parliamentary government, if it be anything like satisfactory, may require time. It may be, as one writer claims, that parliamentary institutions are not created in a day; but when their dream has been long cherished in the breast of a people, the miracle may burst on an astonished world with little warning. Witness the sudden bloodless revolution in Turkey. This consummation, though it appeared the work of an hour, has in fact been ripening since long before 1876, and since that fateful year the movement which to the superficial observer seemed dead, has been steadily gaining power—steadily growing, until the hour arrived when it leaped into sudden life and became so irresistible that we find the old reactionary forces which gathered around the Sultan scattered and destroyed.

Even to-day many people believe that the present constitution will fail in time like the one granted some years ago. They base their belief on the conviction that the most Eastern of Eastern Monarchs would find it impossible to be tied down. It is because some people have regarded it in that light that they place no more faith in it than in the constitution announced more than thirty years ago and revoked. To discerning minds, however, it is clear that the change is more than superficial; that it is the indication of a deep and widespread influence, intellectual and moral, stirring Ottoman society towards a higher stage of civilization and civic rights. Immense numbers have been affected by that influence; and his Majesty, the Sultan himself, has been moved by the self-same forces. That influence cannot be arrested hereafter nor the movement which has resulted from it and culminated in a constitution. It is an assertion of the will of the people,

of the ablest and most active among them.

The attitude of Western nations in the presence of this revolution has been as significant as it is inspiring. The fact that the traditional enemies of Turkey—Austria and Russia—have resolved to watch the progress of the revolution in Turkey with a benevolent eye; that his Majesty King Edward was prompted to telegraph a message of congratulation to the Sultan for the promulgation of the Turkish Constitution, and even Germany wishes to be taken for a god-father to the new constitution; while President Roosevelt, of this most enlightened republic, congratulated the Young Turks on their grand achievement for constitutional government, is just sufficient to prove that constitutional government is in the opinion of the nations suitable for Turkey, and that Young 'Turks have wholly or in part, capacity and sobriety essential for their exceedingly difficult task.

The Ottoman nation is not composed of Mohammedans alone; it includes Christians and Jews. It is the sentiment of nationality, and not of religion, that sways them all. Mussulmans and Christians and Jews all feel as one nation and act together for the achievement of common national ends; and this infusion of Christians and Jews excludes the possibility of a separate Moslem nationality animated exclusively by a religious sentiment. A constitution in Turkey is impossible with Christians and Jews left out.

The result of the Turkish revolution affords a suggestive lesson to the government in my country, India, as it shows that men who have been brought up under theocratic and autocratic influences and surrounded by the corruption supposed to be inseparable from Oriental life may develop an aptitude for democratic associations and fitness for profiting by whatever is good in modern civilization.

A writer in the *Westminster Gazette*, referring to the proclamation of the constitution from David's Tower in the city of Jerusalem, exclaims:

"As we look round the world we see

everywhere among the ancient races this process going forward. How long can it last? we ask ourselves. How can they, who came so suddenly into 'modernism,' do in three weeks or three months what it has taken us three centuries of unceasing efforts and sanguinary conflict to bring about?"

It is a wonderful revolution, as the writer in the *Gazette* calls it, in every sense, and English writers are the foremost in declaring that 'everything is going on "miraculously well" in the changed Turkey, without the surface of society being disturbed even by a ripple. The whole system is changed as if in the twinkling of an eye. Yet Englishmen will insist that Orientals are incapable of self-government.

The story of Japan in recent years affords additional evidence in refuting this position. These Yankees of the Orient have demonstrated their fitness to govern themselves and have fairly staggered the imagination of Western civilization by the rapid progress and wonderful changes that have been brought about through them in the "unchanging East" within less than a decade. Though in Persia just at present things are in a bad way, owing to the rashness of a young sovereign, there can be little doubt but what the onward movement toward a representative government will soon be in full progress again, for the people have had a taste of the order for which they have long yearned.

Is it reasonable to think, to borrow the words of Mr. Stead, editor of the *Review of Reviews* of London, that an earthquake which has shaken a continent from Tokio to Monastir will leave India untouched? With what grace can Lord Morley refuse to grant some kind of constitution to India, when the Caliph at Constantinople finds the restoration of a constitution an alternative to his own disappearance? It makes one wonder how Honest John Morley and other Englishmen—apostles of freedom—can resist the "rightly rising ambitions" of the Hindoos.

It is not at all clear on what principles

those who regard the ambition of Young Turkey as honorable and worthy of all praise, can be opposed to the identical ambition of the people of Hindostan. In the one case as in the other, what the people have been demanding is a constitution defining the power of the executive and making the executive responsible to the nation. In the case of Turkey, a constitution has already been granted and the head of the British Empire has already done what he ought to have done. In India a constitution is yet to be conceded, even in its most rudimentary form; and yet surprise is often affected at the prevailing unrest in India by the very men who in the same breath would applaud the Young Turk party for the part they have played in bringing about the present transformation. Are things really so different in India from what they are in Turkey? And if they are, is the advantage on the side of Turkey? Will the reactionary press have the fairness to say wherein the difference between India and Turkey lies, if not in the determination of the Indian bureaucracy, aided and abetted by this press, not to make any concession to the people, which is so unlike the appreciation of the situation shown by the Sultan? To say that the ambition of Young Turkey "to sweep and garnish her own mansion" is honorable, but that the same ambition in India is only another name for treason, is the climax of absurdity and insincerity.

Let me conclude this plea for the right of India to enjoy representative government, by making the following brief quotation from an able editorial in the *New York Nation* of July 30, 1908:

"It brings another refutation of that gospel of inferior and superior races which has been made the basis of the brutal ethics of imperial conquest and exploitation. Islam may rule itself. Liberty and democracy are not the special gifts of the divinely endowed white European races."

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Lowell

## JAMES RUSSELL AS A POET OF FREEDOM AND HUMAN RIGHTS.

BY B. O. FLOWER.

I.

IT IS a wonderful gift, a God-like power, to be able to awaken the sleeping soul in man. Epictetus on one occasion said: "You carry a god about with you, and know nothing about it. Do not suppose that I mean a god of gold and silver; it is within yourself that you carry him."

This truth cannot be too impressively emphasized. The divine image is resident in every child of earth, awaiting the magic word that shall free it from the thralldom of sense dominion and cast aside the mask which hides the true self. And yet how many journey from cradle to tomb without being startled into real life or awakened on the Godward side.

Among the thinkers whose high function it is to arouse the spiritual self, no class exerts so potent an influence, especially upon the plastic brain of youth, as the poets. It has been said that, broadly speaking, all children are poets, because they possess in so marked a degree that supreme gift of the imaginative genius, the power of visualization; but unhappily this power of visualizing, so strongly evidenced in the child mind, fades as fades the light of day after the sun sinks below the horizon, as the materialistic influences of life settle around youth and sense domination becomes more and more pronounced. But the poet, if he be true to the high trust imposed upon him, reawakens the sleeping ego to a realization of its higher self, lifts the mental vision from the clod to the star, riveting it upon that ideal which, as Hugo says, is "the stable type of ever-moving progress."

To the poet, however, as to others, is given the power of free-will. He may

respond to the divine promptings, be true to the vision and become one of the torch-bearers of civilization, leading humanity up the spiritual Alps; or, he may elect to tread the rose-strewn path of sensuous delight, in which event his songs, while moving men and awakening life on the sensuous plane, fail in that which should be the supreme achievement of the poet—the awakening of the prodigal from the dream of sensuous dominion to his true estate as the son of God, as a brother to all mankind—awakening him so that life becomes august—a mission, as Mazzini so happily puts it.

To the poet who sees the truth in its splendor, duty becomes divine, and he, being faithful to his trust, becomes an enlightener, giving to men glimpses of the secret of secrets, the key to victory, joy and peace; for he knows, feels and is enabled to transmit to others the meaning of all-comprehending love, the true significance of Paul's words when he exclaimed:

"Though I speak with the tongues of men and of angels, and have not love, I am become as sounding brass or a tinkling cymbal.

"And though I have the gift of prophecy, and understand all mysteries, and all knowledge; and though I have all faith, so that I could remove mountains, and have not love, I am nothing.

"And though I bestow all my goods to feed the poor, and though I give my body to be burned, and have not love, it profiteth me nothing."

He who is thus awakened intuitively understands the full meaning of Lowell's lines when he says:

"Not what we give, but what we share—  
For the gift without the giver is bare."

## II.

And speaking of Lowell suggests the fact that he was one of the true torch-bearers or awakeners who always appear in moral or spiritual crises, reflecting the aspirations of the higher social consciousness and in turn becoming fountains of inspiration for the millions. He justly holds a foremost place among the American poets of freedom and progress by virtue of the great work he wrought in awakening the sleeping conscience of our people to a keener appreciation of the high duty devolving on a republic that essayed to be the moral leader of the world, the special exponent of freedom, fraternity and human rights. This most priceless service was wrought chiefly during a series of years when the poet's splendid imagination was under the willing guidance of one of the noblest of New England's daughters.

It is not, we think, too much to say that no other American poet, unless it be Whit-tier, has exerted anything like as profound an influence on the conscience side of Anglo-Saxon life as did Lowell in the flush and glory of young manhood. Yet his great service as a poet of progress, an apostle of democracy and freedom, was, for the most part, confined to less than a score of years. Early and late in life he was a conservative, largely under the sway of conventionalism. His life and writings in this respect present an interesting study to psychologists, for we are all largely the children of our ancestors, inheriting some or many of their strong and dominating characteristics; and when those ancestors come from different races marked by strong and often conflicting traits, it is not unfrequently the case that the offspring is richly dowered and many-sided. Sometimes, however, the warring tendencies make the delicate, sensitive plate of the mind respond to contradictory influences which for the moment appeal in a masterful manner, especially when they come by way of the heart.

In Lowell's ancestors we find much

that is illuminating when we seek an explanation for his wavering between conventionalism and humanitarian progress, conservatism and radicalism. On his father's side his ancestors were sturdy, matter-of-fact New Englanders. Some of them were clergymen of the Unitarian and Congregational faiths, and here we find the spirit of freedom and liberalism, especially in regard to church and state, blended with the austerity and literalism of the New England mind.

On the other hand, his mother was a daughter of the rugged northern islands that skirt the coast of Scotland, her father and her maternal grandfather both being born in the Orkney Islands. This mother possessed a highly imaginative, mystic and poetic temperament; yet in religion and politics she and her people were rigid Episcopalians and ultra-Tories.

Now the mind of James Russell Lowell reflected at times the strong and conflicting tendencies so marked in the lives of his progenitors. It was as though his brain was a delicate sensitive plate ready to respond to conservative or progressive impulses, to conventionalism or humanitarianism. Of all our poets, his muse was the most palpably influenced by dominating currents that at times environed him.

As has been intimated, almost all sensitive natures exhibit the presence of warring influences in the mental world. Not unfrequently these exert a most unfortunate influence in life, unsettling the will and confusing the judgment at critical moments. In literature, Hamlet is the supreme type of this order of mind, and among American men of letters, Lowell offers a striking example of this interesting phenomenon.

Thus we find his earliest poem, written at the time of his graduation from Harvard, revealing a positive and aggressive spirit of conservatism and conformity to conventional thought. It was written at a time when New England was aflame with moral idealism. Emerson was promulgating those lofty ethical and philo-

sophical ideals and concepts that are now becoming such a mighty wellspring of spiritual life. Dr. Channing was liberalizing the religious thought of the time. Garrison and Whittier were awakening the nation to a realization of the fundamental injustice of human slavery and so calling a sleeping people out of the moral lethargy into which the materialism of the market had lulled it. There was a great temperance wave stirring the people. New and high social and political ideals were being discussed, and, in short, New England was the vital center of a spiritual, humanitarian and patriotic renaissance such as the Republic had not known since the days of the great Revolution. Yet at this moment we find young Lowell in his commencement satirical poem exhibiting an "aristocratic and conservative bias." The principal objects of his satire were Ralph Waldo Emerson, Thomas Carlyle, transcendentalism, the abolitionists, temperance workers, woman suffragists, and vegetarians. "In every case except the latter," says one of his most discriminating biographers, "the satire suffers from Lowell's inability to grasp, even intellectually, the case for the defense."

After leaving Harvard, however, Lowell came into intimate relation with some of the young moral enthusiasts who made the New England of the second quarter of the nineteenth century a veritable summer-time for ethical awakening and conscience activity. His sensitive mind began at once to receive and reflect a new group of impressions. His sense of duty became awakened. It was shortly after this stirring of the nobler depths of the young poet's nature that he went one evening to spend the week-end with a college classmate, a young Mr. White, who lived at Watertown. Here he met the young man's sister Maria. She was a beautiful girl, a poet by nature, and a young woman possessing fine literary taste and critical judgment. But she was also a moral enthusiast in hearty sympathy with the great reformatory movements that were so deeply stirring New England

life, which Lowell had so shortly before satirized in his class poem. She was instantly drawn to the handsome though rather shy young poet, and her feelings were reciprocated. Ere long the two were engaged. The influence which Maria White exerted on Lowell was immediately perceivable, and the strong compelling power of her lofty spiritual enthusiasm became henceforth the guiding or shaping influence under which his imagination wrought and wrought so effectively for human emancipation and that moral quickening that is the vital breath of true civilization. Before this, Lowell was, as the Russians would say, "of two minds." He was swayed between the conventional and progressive influences that were in active operation. He was as a ship in the sea, being impelled northward by a powerful current while swept by a gale that bore to the southward, and without a strong guiding hand at the wheel. Miss White became that hand which guided, and henceforth, during her all too brief life, and indeed until after the great Civil War, Lowell was probably the most powerful poetic force for freedom, justice and moral progress in the New World.

After the death of his wife a change is quite discernible in his poems. There is less of the strong, progressive and ethical spirit that had been dominant in his verse. True, her influence upon his life and thought-world was such as to make a life-long impress; yet the prophet's flame-like thought which marks the torch-bearers and way-showers of civilization, began to wane after she went away. Thereafter it was only at moments the old light flared forth, as, for example, in his magnificent "Commemoration Ode" written in 1865, and in a less marked degree in his fine ode read at the one-hundredth anniversary of the fight at Concord. In an ever-increasing degree after the influence of Maria Lowell faded and another came to take her place, we find the conservative impulses coming to the front and the tone of his writings, his habits of thought and life becoming more and more conservative

and conventional. The critic and literateur, the political diplomat and the popular after-dinner speaker to a large degree take the place of the great prophet-poet whose words rang forth as marching orders for God-aspiring humanity and as great eternal vitalizing truths which awaken the sleeping Divine in the hearts of youth and maiden, leading them to consecrate life's noblest gifts to the service of humanity.

Thus we find Lowell's youth was marked by battling between convention and reform, between reaction and progress. Here was indecision, and at times profound melancholy. This gave place to the sun-burst of real life, of moral virility, of power and true leadership, which lasted until after his first wife passed away, to be followed by the gradual ascendancy of the more conventional and conservative spirit, in which the prophet-poet gave way to the critic, the essayist, the editor and the popular diplomat.

The last half of his life will ever constitute a fascinating chapter in the chronicle of our men of letters. Yet it is with Lowell as the apostle of freedom, justice and progress, as the prophet-poet of a nobler social order, that we are specially concerned; because the thought which flowed from his brain while his soul was filled with moral enthusiasm must ever be most helpful to earnest men and women who would be true to the august duty which civilization imposes on all who would ennoble themselves by serving humanity and aid in the peaceful inauguration of juster and truer conditions, in which freedom, justice and fraternity shall be woven into the web and woof of civilization.

### III.

The distinguished British journalist and founder of the *English Review of Reviews*, Mr. William Stead, states that it was the conscience-awakening poems of James Russell Lowell that, falling into his hands when a boy, so aroused the

moral or spiritual nature in him as to give bent or direction to his thought for the rest of life. The effect upon his mind of the clarion call to the sleeping soul was much the same as that of the verses of J. G. Whittier on Thomas Wentworth Higginson, and which was later described by Colonel Higginson in a poem addressed to the Quaker poet in which he says:

"At dawn of manhood came a voice to me  
That said to startled conscience, 'Sleep no more!  
"If any good to me or from me came,  
Through life, and if no influence less divine  
Has quite usurped the place of duty's flame;  
If aught rose worthy in this heart of mine,  
Aught that, viewed backward, wears no shade of  
shame;  
Bless thee, old friend! for that high call was  
thine!"

The wonderful soul-arousing influence of Lowell's verse has been experienced by a great number of the finest minds among the real spiritual leaders throughout the Anglo-Saxon world; nor is this strange, for when the poet was under the overmastering compulsion of the higher vision, the things of the hour fell away and he beheld the spiritual verities in their real light, gained a sense of proportions and was enabled to penetrate to the heart of things. The church, zealous for rites, dogmas and forms of faith, he beheld as wanting in the Christ spirit, as the Great Nazarene perceived the conventional religion of his age to be wanting in the true spirit of God that transforms the heart and makes one a living witness of the higher truths. Seldom in essay, sermon or story has this difference between the church that exalts the letter over the spirit, and the religion that visits the widows and the fatherless in their affliction and keeps itself pure and unspotted from the world, been so vitally presented as in these oft-quoted but ever-appropriate lines:

"Said Christ our Lord, 'I will go and see  
How the men, my brethren, believe in me.'  
He passed not again through the gate of birth,  
But made himself known to the children of earth.  
"Then said the chief priests, and rulers, and kings,  
'Behold, now, the Giver of all good things;



Go to, let us welcome with pomp and state  
Him who alone is mighty and great.

"With carpets of gold the ground they spread  
Wherever the Son of Man should tread,  
And in palace-chambers lofty and rare  
They lodged him, and served him with kingly fare.

"Great organs surged through arches dim  
Their jubilant floods in praise of Him;  
And in church, and palace, and judgment-hall,  
He saw his image high over all.

"But still, wherever his steps they led,  
The Lord in sorrow bent down his head,  
And from under the heavy foundation-stones,  
The Son of Mary heard bitter groans.

"And in church, and palace, and judgment-hall,  
He marked great fissures that rent the wall,  
And opened wider and yet more wide  
As the living foundation heaved and sighed.

"Have ye founded your thrones and altars, then,  
On the bodies and souls of living men?  
And think ye that building shall endure,  
Which shelters the noble and crushes the poor?

"With gates of silver and bars of gold  
Ye have fenced my sheep from their Father's fold;  
I have heard the dropping of their tears  
In heaven these eighteen hundred years.

"O Lord and Master, not ours the guilt,  
We build but as our fathers built;  
Behold thine images, how they stand,  
Sovereign and sole, through all our land.

"Our task is hard—with sword and flame  
To hold thine earth forever the same,  
And with sharp crooks of steel to keep  
Still, as thou ledest them, thy sheep."

"Then Christ sought out an artisan,  
A low-browed, stunted, haggard man,  
And a motherless girl, whose fingers thin  
Pushed from her faintly want and sin.

"These set he in the midst of them,  
And as they drew back their garment-hem,  
For fear of defilement, 'Lo, here,' said he,  
'The images ye have made of me!'"

It is the misfortune of man that up to the present time, save on rare occasions, his vision is so dimmed that it extends little beyond the passing day. The poet-prophet ascends the mountains while we remain in the valley. To him the past, present and future are unfolded, and he catches some idea of proper relations, impossible where the vision is bounded by egoistic limitations and the materialism of the market; and to him also are shown the things of true worth in contradistinction to the tinsel and the *ignis fatuus* that dazzles and deceives those who imagine

that Vanity Fair is all of life or who are content to live in the swampland of materiality, with no effort to rise to the heights. Here are some words instinct with helpfulness for those who have ears to hear:

"I watch the circle of the eternal years,  
And read forever in the storied page  
One lengthened roll of blood, and wrong, and tears—  
One onward step of Truth from age to age.

"The poor are crushed; the tyrants link their chain;  
The poet sings through narrow dungeon grates;  
Man's hope lies quenched—and, lo! with steadfast gain  
Freedom doth forge her mail of adverse fates.

"Men slay the prophets; fagot, rack, and cross  
Make up the groaning record of the past;  
But Evil's triumphs are her endless loss,  
And sovereign Beauty wins the soul at last.

"No power can die that ever wrought for Truth;  
Thereby a law of Nature it became,  
And lives unwithered in its sinewy youth,  
When he who called it forth is but a name.

"Truth needs no champions: in the infinite deep  
Of everlasting Soul her strength abides,  
From Nature's heart her mighty pulses leap,  
Through Nature's veins her strength, undying, tides.

"Peace is more strong than war, and gentleness,  
Where force were vain, makes conquest o'er the wave;  
And love lives on and hath a power to bless,  
When they who loved are hidden in the grave."

The apologists for things as they are, are ever seeking to discredit the prophet of progress and discount the vision by the claim that because a thing has not been discovered before, or because it has not been tried in some older land, it is chimerical or false. Every new discovery and advance step made by seer, scientist, philosopher, reformer and apostle of true progress has been obstructed by this old, old cry of faithless conventionalism; and to such our poet replies:

"Whatever can be known of earth we know,  
Sneered Europe's wise men, in their snail-shells curled;  
'No!' said one man in Genoa, and that No  
Out of the dark created this New World.

"Who is it will not dare himself to trust?  
Who is it hath not strength to stand alone?  
Who is it thwarts and balks the inward must?  
He and his works, like sand, from earth are blown."

The reformatory poetry of Lowell is vibrant with truths that are vital to man and nations. Thomas Jefferson with seeing eye beheld slavery and the inevitable outcome unless the nation was wise and great enough to be just. He declared that when he contemplated the future, the thought of slavery fell on his soul like the sound of an alarm bell at midnight. And with the wisdom of the statesman, seeing the coming danger, he proposed that the slaves should be gradually emancipated and sent to Africa, and that every ship that bore a load of slaves to their native continent should return to America laden with emigrants from Southern Europe to settle in our Southland. Had this wise course been followed, the Republic would have escaped the horrors of the Civil War, the frightful cost in blood and treasure, the corruption that fastened itself upon government and began its degrading career in business life, and also the grave and disquieting race problem that confronts us to-day. But a short-sighted materialism blinded us to the demands which wisdom no less than civilization and justice imposed on a nation that had given the world the Declaration of Independence. Hence we had to pay the penalty, as all men and nations have sooner or later to suffer for wrongdoing.

No truer utterances have been given to our people touching the inescapable mandates of justice and duty, than are voiced in many of Lowell's lines, of which the following are examples:

"He's true to God who's true to man; whatever wrong is done,  
To the humblest and the weakest, 'neath the all-beholding sun,  
That wrong is also done to us; and they are slaves most base,  
Whose love of right is for themselves, and not for all their race.

"T is ours to save our brethren, with peace and love to win  
Their darkened hearts from error, ere they harden it to sin;  
But if before his duty man with listless spirit stands,  
Ere long the Great Avenger takes the work from out his hands."

"They are slaves who fear to speak  
For the fallen and the weak;  
They are slaves who will not choose  
Hatred, scoffing, and abuse,  
Rather than in silence shrink  
From the truth they needs must think;  
They are slaves who dare not be  
In the right with two or three."

"Careless seems the great Avenger; history's pages but record  
One death-grapple in the darkness 'twixt old systems and the Word;  
Truth forever on the scaffold, Wrong forever on the throne—  
Yet that scaffold sways the future, and, behind the dim unknown,  
Standeth God within the shadow, keeping watch above His own.

"We see dimly in the Present what is small and what is great  
Slow of faith how weak an arm may turn the iron helm of fate,  
But the soul is still oracular; amid the market's din,  
List the ominous stern whisper from the Delphic cave within—  
'They enslave their children's children who make compromise with sin.'

"Count me o'er earth's chosen heroes—they were souls that stood alone,  
While the men they agonized for hurled the contumelious stone,  
Stood serene, and down the future saw the golden beam incline  
To the side of perfect justice, mastered by their faith divine,  
By one man's plain truth to manhood and to God's supreme design.

"By the light of burning heretics Christ's bleeding feet I track,  
Toiling up new Calvaries ever with the cross that turns not back,  
And these mounts of anguish number how each generation learned  
One new word of that grand *Credo* which in prophet-hearts hath burned  
Since the first man stood God-conquered with his face to heaven upturned.

"For Humanity sweeps onward: where to-day the martyr stands,  
On the morrow crouches Judas with the silver in his hands;  
Far in front the cross stands ready and the crackling fagots burn,  
While the hooting mob of yesterday in silent awe return  
To glean up the scattered ashes into History's golden urn."

Freedom was a favorite subject of Lowell's verse when the poet was on the mountain heights. Here are some fine lines from a poem written during the days

when his wife was his inspirer, helper and guide:

"Freedom is recreated year by year,  
In hearts wide open on the Godward side,  
In souls calm-cadenced as the whirling sphere,  
In minds that sway the future like a tide.  
No broadest creeds can hold her, and no codes;  
She chooses men for her august abodes,  
Building them fair and fronting to the dawn."

In later life he wrote nobly again of freedom in the lines which open his magnificent ode composed for the one-hundredth celebration of the fight at Concord. The poet becomes the word-painter and portrays Freedom as she appears before his imagination—the goddess who:

"Lifted us out of the dust,  
And made us whatever we are."

"Who cometh over the hills,  
Her garments with morning sweet,  
The dance of a thousand rills  
Making music before her feet?  
Her presence freshens the air;  
Sunshine steals light from her face;  
The leaden footstep of Care  
Leaps to the tune of her pace,  
Fairness of all that is fair,  
Grace at the heart of all grace,  
Sweetener of hut and of hall,  
Bringer of life out of naught,  
Freedom, O fairest of all  
The daughters of Time and Thought!"

"She cometh, cometh to-day;  
Hark! hear ye not her tread,  
Sending a thrill through your clay,  
Under the sod there, ye dead,  
Her nurslings and champions?  
Do ye not hear, as she comes,  
The bay of the deep-mouthed guns,  
The gathering buzz of the drums?  
The bells that called ye to prayer,  
How wildly they clamor on her,  
Crying, 'She cometh! prepare  
Her to praise and her to honor,  
That a hundred years ago  
Scattered here in blood and tears  
Potent seeds wherefrom should grow  
Gladness for a hundred years!'"

"Tell me, young men, have ye seen,  
Creature of diviner mien  
For true hearts to long and cry for,  
Manly hearts to live and die for?  
What hath she that others want?  
Brows that all endearments haunt,  
Eyes that make it sweet to dare,  
Smiles that glad untimely death,  
Looks that fortify despair,  
Tones more brave than trumpet's breath;  
Tell me, maidens, have ye known  
Household charm more sweetly rare,  
Grace of woman ampler blown,  
Modesty more debonair,

Younger heart with wit full grown?  
O for an hour of my prime,  
The pulse of my hotter years,  
That I might praise her in rhyme  
Would tingle your eyelids to tears,  
Our sweetness, our strength, and our star,  
Our hope, our joy, and our trust,  
Who lifted us out of the dust,  
And made us whatever we are!"

Some of Lowell's most inspiring lines are found in personal tributes called forth when the moral heroism of the subject appealed irresistibly to the spiritual vision of the poet. These poems, because they are so instinct with truth, lift the imagination of the reader out of the valley, where materialistic concepts and sensuous desires hedge in the soul and shut out the larger vision, to the crest of the spiritual Alps, from which it catches glimpses of the past and future and gains a sense of proportion impossible to those who remain below. One of the finest of these personal poems is the following on Wendell Phillips:

"He stood upon the world's broad threshold; wide  
The din of battle and of slaughter rose;  
He saw God stand upon the weaker side,  
That sank in seeming loss before its foes:  
Many there were who made great haste and sold  
Unto the cunning enemy their swords;  
He scorned their gifts of fame, and power, and gold,  
And, underneath their soft and flowery words,  
Heard the cold serpent hiss; therefore he went  
And humbly joined him to the weaker part,  
Fanatic named, and fool, yet well content  
So he could be the nearer to God's heart,  
And feel its solemn pulses sending blood  
Through all the widespread veins of endless good."

These stanzas on William Lloyd Garrison are also very fine:

"In a small chamber, friendless and unseen,  
Toiled o'er his types one poor, unlearned young  
man;  
The place was dark, unfurnished, and mean—  
Yet there the freedom of a race began."

"Help came but slowly; surely no man yet  
Put lever to the heavy world with less:  
What need of help? He knew how types were set,  
He had a dauntless spirit, and a press."

"Such earnest natures are the fiery pith,  
The compact nucleus, round which systems grow!  
Mass after mass becomes inspired therewith,  
And whirls impregnate with the central glow."

In his elegy on Dr. Channing, a very notable and inspiring poem, we have the following tribute:

"Thou livest in the life of all good things;  
What words thou spak'st for Freedom shall not  
die;

Thou sleepest not, for now thy Love hath wings  
To soar where hence thy Hope could hardly fly.

"From off the starry mountain-peak of song,  
Thy spirit shows me, in the coming time,  
An earth unwithered by the foot of wrong,  
A race revering its own soul sublime."

But perhaps the noblest of his personal tributes is found in the lines devoted to Lincoln, in his "Commemoration Ode" written in memory of the Harvard men who fell on the battlefield. Next to Edwin Markham's great poem on the martyred President, we think nothing better has been written on Lincoln than the following lines:

"Nature, they say, doth dote,  
And cannot make a man  
Save on some worn-out plan,  
Repeating us by rote:

For him her Old-World moulds aside she threw,  
And, choosing sweet clay from the breast  
Of the unexhausted West,

With stuff untainted shaped a hero new,  
Wise, steadfast in the strength of God, and true.  
How beautiful to see

Once more a shepherd of mankind indeed,  
Who loved his charge, but never loved to lead;  
One whose meek flock the people joyed to be,

Not lured by any cheat of birth,  
But by his clear-grained human worth,  
And brave old wisdom of sincerity!

They knew that outward grace is dust;  
They could not choose but trust  
In that sure-footed mind's unfaltering skill,  
And subtle-tempered will

That bent like perfect steel to spring again and thrust  
His was no lonely mountain-peak of mind,  
Thrusting to thin air o'er our cloudy bars,  
A sea-mark now, now lost in vapors blind;  
Broad prairie rather, genial, level-lined,  
Fruitful and friendly for all human kind,  
Yet also nigh to heaven and loved of loftiest stars.

Nothing of Europe here,  
Or, then, of Europe fronting mornward stili,  
Ere any names of Serf and Peer  
Could Nature's equal scheme deface  
And thwart her genial will;

Here was a type of the true elder race,  
And one of Plutarch's men talked with us face to  
face."

It was during this period, when Lowell was under the compulsion of moral idealism and the reform spirit so largely stimulated by his first wife, that he composed that magnificent poem, considered by many the most precious sermon in song that has been written by an American

bard—"The Vision of Sir Launfal." Here occurs one of those exquisite nature poems that jewel the pages of Lowell's verse and stir the hearts of all who love the Great Mother. Next to his lines "To the Dandelion," perhaps he has written no nature verse sweeter than these stanzas:

"And what is so rare as a day in June?

Then, if ever, come perfect days;  
Then Heaven tries the earth if it be in tune,

And over it softly her warm ear lays:

Whether we look, or whether we listen,

We hear life murmur, or see it glisten;

Every clod feels a stir of might,

An instinct within it that reaches and towers,

And, groping blindly above it for light,

Climbs to a soul in grass and flowers;

The flush of life may well be seen

Thrilling back over hills and valleys;

The cowslip startles in meadows green,

The buttercup catches the sun in its chalice,

And there's never a leaf nor a blade too mean

To be some happy creature's palace;

The little bird sits at his door in the sun,

Attil like a blossom among the leaves,

And lets his illumined being o'errun

With the deluge of summer it receives;

His mate feels the eggs beneath her wings,

And the heart in her dumb breast flutters and sings;

He sings to the wide world, and she to her nest—

In the nice ear of Nature which song is the best?"

After such an introduction, the reader is prepared for something fine in story and lesson; nor is he disappointed when he follows the gay young knight as he rides forth in quest of the Holy Grail, absorbed in self and thirsting for some exciting exploit that shall give him glory. The spiritual poverty of the seeker for the Grail is vividly pictured in the lines describing his feeling of loathing and contempt when he beholds the leper at the gate, to whom "he tossed a piece of gold in scorn." And how impressive is the solemn spiritual truth taught in the lines that follow:

"The leper raised not the gold from the dust:

'Better to me the poor man's crust,

Better the blessing of the poor,

Though I turn me empty from his door;

That is no true alms which the hand can hold;

He gives nothing but worthless gold

Who gives from a sense of duty;

But he who gives but a slender mite,

And gives to that which is out of sight,

That thread of the all-sustaining Beauty

Which runs through all and doth all unite—



The hand cannot clasp the whole of his alms,  
The heart outstretches its eager palms,  
For a god goes with it and makes it store  
To the soul that was starving in darkness before."

But if the soul was drugged by the Lethe of the sensuous world when the young knight went forth, the long years of striving for something that symbolize supreme or God-like self-sacrifice, wrought a transformation in the soul of Sir Launfal, as is seen when, as an old man, he returns to his castle only to find it in possession of others, while he is banished as an impostor. When alone and friendless he muses under the cold and cheerless sky, again the leper comes with the old plaintive cry:

"For Christ's sweet sake, I beg an alms"—  
The happy camels may reach the spring,  
But Sir Launfal sees only the grewsome thing,  
The leper, lank as the rain-blanchèd bone,  
That cowers beside him, a thing as lone  
And white as the ice-isles of Northern seas  
In the desolate horror of his disease.

"And Sir Launfal said, 'I behold in thee  
An image of Him who died on the tree;  
Thou also hast had thy crown of thorns—  
Thou also hast had the world's buffets and scorn—  
And to thy life were not denied  
The wounds in the hands and feet and side:  
Mild Mary's Son, acknowledge me;  
Behold, through him, I give to thee!'"

"Then the soul of the leper stood up in his eyes  
And looked at Sir Launfal, and straightway he  
Remembered in what a haughtier guise  
He had flung an alms to leprosie,  
When he girt his young life up in gilded mail  
And set forth in search of the Holy Grail.  
The heart within him was ashes and dust;  
He parted in twain his single crust,  
He broke the ice on the streamlet's brink,  
And gave the leper to eat and drink.

"T was a mouldy crust of coarse, brown bread,

"T was water out of a wooden bowl—

Yet with fine wheaten bread was the leper fed,  
And 't was red wine he drank with his thirsty  
soul.

"As Sir Launfal mused with a downcast face,  
A light shone round about the place;  
The leper no longer crouched at his side,  
But stood before him glorified,  
Shining and tall and fair and straight  
As the pillar that stood by the Beautiful Gate—  
Himself the Gate whereby men can  
Enter the temple of God in Man.

"His words were shed softer than leaves from the  
pine,  
And they fell on Sir Launfal as snows on the  
brine,  
That mingle their softness and quiet in one  
With the shaggy unrest they float down upon;  
And the voice that was calmer than silence said,  
'Lo it is I, be not afraid!  
In many climes, without avail,  
Thou hast spent thy life for the Holy Grail;  
Behold, it is here—this cup which thou  
Didst fill at the streamlet for me but now;  
This crust is my body broken for thee,  
This water His blood that died on the tree;  
The Holy Supper is kept, indeed,  
In whatso we share with another's need;  
Not what we give, but what we share—  
For the gift without the giver is bare;  
Who gives himself with his alms feeds three—  
Himself, his hungering neighbor, and me."

The lesson here impressed, like the august truth touching duty in the presence of great problems that affect justice, freedom and the rights of others, splendidly reveals the presence of the Divine Afflatus, the intuitive power that enables the true poet, when under the compulsion of spiritual illumination, to reach the heart of things—that God-like power that is shadowed forth in the seeing eye, the hearing ear and the feeling heart, and which makes the people's poet a way-shower of civilization and apostle of truth, a servant of progress and a lover of all living things.

B. O. FLOWER.

Boston, Massachusetts.

## DEMOCRACY, THE HIGH SCHOOL AND SELF-SUPPORTING STUDENTS.

BY WILLIAM THUM.

THE MAIN object of every nation should be to teach the nearest possible approach to a truly democratic state. Democracy that is worthy of the name cannot be possible until a great majority of the citizens possess both a good general education and a special education in some economic field. We here include the professions and arts in economic activity. A good general education will tend to equalize us socially, and a nearer approach to social democracy will result. A well-diffused economic education will tend toward an equalization of our earning capacities, and to the extent of the equalization affected, it will develop economic democracy.

In order to build the highest economic democracy, it is of great importance that economic education be improved and more generally distributed; but it must also be accompanied by a better distribution of general education. This combined economic and general education must be of such a degree and so well distributed as to lead the citizen to the polls in the interest of laws that will result in economic justice. By economic justice we mean a state in which no man, through the mere power of wealth, can take artificial advantage of men who possess less wealth or a keener moral sense.

We cannot approximate social democracy until all citizens have an equal opportunity to obtain a general secondary and higher education, but all cannot have such equal opportunity until economic methods and customs no longer give to some persons an unearned advantage.

As just stated, we must have a higher popular education both general and economic in order to make laws that put an end to much of this undue advantage;

but as the undue advantage retards the needed advance in popular education, progress is unavoidably slow. We can, however, safely hope that the retarded education will be all the better for the struggle required. This slow progress may be the only safe way for the present, but no opportunity wisely to further education should pass unimproved.

True national democracy must always tend toward both economic and social democracy. In social democracy we include both intellectual and moral democracy.

So long as educated persons are relatively few, they will take little interest in politics; but as their relative numbers increase, their interest in politics will increase. When they are in the majority, politics will become the most important subject of their thought and action. Thus politics will be purified and democracy will be furthered. Again, so long as secondary and higher education is monopolized by relatively few, these few, with some exceptions, will take undue advantage of the less enlightened. In many cases this advantage is taken unwittingly because even higher education in politics and economics is as yet too crude. Under these conditions an approximation to true democracy is out of the question.

It is the duty of every man who has the capacity to obtain a good general education and an economic education. It is his further duty as a citizen to aid in the spread of secondary education at least. The majority of those who have the means to pay the expense of obtaining such education, or who have friends to pay these expenses for them, no doubt attend secondary schools. We therefore depend principally on the self-supporting youth to increase the number of earnest students

in these schools. The number who systematically and liberally educate themselves at home is too small to take into account. The man who has not in one way or another obtained a thorough secondary education is usually far from his best in citizenship.

Uncomplimentary things are often said about some high schools and about some of the students, and sometimes with good reason. This adverse criticism is due to the fact that too large a proportion of high-school students regard the high school merely as a means of making one proficient in the "game of grab" or in the "society habit." Nevertheless, without high schools improved by time and greatly increased in number, our advance toward true democracy will be so slow that the reactionary element in both the so-called lower and higher classes of society will more than counteract this slow advance. Finally, such democracy as we have accomplished will be destroyed. We especially mention high schools, as, in our present state of enlightenment, they are more necessary than are additional universities. If what has been said is true, the high school, or an equivalent, and the self-supporting student give us our greatest hope for further advance toward true democracy.

The following plan is offered as a suggestion to any boy of sixteen or eighteen years of age, who, in order to do his duty to himself and to his country, is anxious to have an education beyond the eighth grade, who is dependent on his own resources, and who is so situated as to make the following undertaking feasible. Let him find a willing partner in a tried and true friend, and let them together seek permanent employment in some

business, as one boy, one to work in the forenoon, the other in the afternoon. After demonstrating their ability to do their work to the satisfaction of their employer, let them apply to some well-equipped high school, or polytechnic school, for admission in half-day sessions, one to attend in the forenoon, and the other in the afternoon for the first year, with the reverse order of time for the second year. In this manner, each will attend a year of morning and a year of afternoon sessions, and in the two years will have obtained a full year of schooling. When over school age, the boys will be required to pay approximately their share of the operating expenses of the school. This requirement should not be regarded as an obstacle, as it will amount to only about thirty dollars a year for a half-time student. It may often be advisable that these boys room together. By this plan each will keep better informed regarding the work done by the other, and the two can better fill the place of a single employé. Two boys living at home may still live together by staying first at the home of one, then at the home of the other, alternating perhaps every month. If economy is practiced in every direction wages of seven dollars a week for the half-time of each student, will pay all living and school expenses. School men believe that most young men could easily graduate after six years of this half-time attendance. By this plan the school education would be more slowly and more thoroughly assimilated, thus making it of more than ordinary value. Employés often advance their best interests by giving employment to well-chosen, self-supporting students. WILLIAM THUM.

*Pasadena, Cal.*

## OUR OVER-DEVELOPED SENSE OF HUMOR.

BY EUNICE TIETJENS.

**T**HERE is a saying current on the Continent to the effect that the quality which is most peculiarly characteristic of Anglo-Saxon literature, and is its greatest gift to the world of letters is its humor. German literature stands pre-eminent for "*Gemüt*," an untranslatable word which means a certain friendly sentiment, the French excel in "*esprit*," in hard, scintillating wit, but the inalienable birthright of the Anglo-Saxon is humor.

Whether or not humor really is our greatest literary characteristic remains a debatable point, but we must forgive our continental brethren for thinking so, since there is very little doubt that it is the quality of which we are proudest. This is even more true of America than of England, for while we inherited our love of humor from the mother country we consider that we have far outstripped her in the race.

Humor, we say, is the grease which makes the wheel of life turn smoothly; humor, with her handmaid ridicule, rights our wrongs for us and hurls the Boss Tweeds of the day helpless to earth; humor is a strong sword in the hands of the cartoonist and reformer and a soothing syrup for our children's woes. Without humor life is unimaginable, a dreary waste of duty and boredom. If nature has been deficient in supplying you with a sense of the ridiculous, cultivate one, and never rest till this hot-house product has attained at least respectable proportions.

All this is undeniably true and most wise when applied to the kindly, affectionate humor of an Oliver Wendell Holmes or the reform-barbed arrows of a Thomas Nast. And yet—there is such a thing as an over-developed sense of humor, and surely our country is suffering from it.

Through much feeding and forcing our sense of the ridiculous is grown large

beyond reason. It has lost its delicacy in the process as a rose might be magnified into a cabbage. No longer do we hold our humor within bounds, but like a spoiled, over-grown child it gambols over the pastures of our life laying smutty fingers on what is deepest and truest there, on religion, on sentiment, on love. It says: "Thou shalt not tell of thine innermost religious hopes and yearnings or I will mock at thee." And we are silent. It says again: "Thou shalt not give thyself, except in superficialities. If thou hast depth of sentiment or delicacy of thought, hide them or I will laugh." And we hide them till from lack of air and sunshine they wither away. We dare no longer be ourselves for fear of ridicule.

This is even more apparent in our modes of expression than in our lives. Consider our daily press, our periodicals, our theaters, places of public amusements, even our songs. These things represent the pulse of the public at large. Look at the daily press. What do we find there? Tragedy, alas, often sordid or garish tragedy—and flippancy. Rarely anything else. The pale cast of would-be humor, cynical, ironical or coarse, according to the "policy of the paper," is over it all, tingeing the political reports, creeping into the editorials and dictating to the critics, who must write "readable" stuff often at the cost of justice. And what shall we say of the brutal, slap-stick comic supplements that are given weekly into the hands of our children? Here indeed is humor gone to seed!

Our periodicals, representing as they do the better class of literary work, are less virulent than the daily press; but what writer does not know the cry of the distracted editor for "humorous stuff"? While the periodicals, I am speaking now of eight out of every ten magazines on our news-stands, are less objectionable in one



way, in another they are better proof of what we may not say. We may not write tragedy, unless by chance we are already famous when we can do as we please; we may under no circumstances write anything so-called "unpleasant"; and we may not become sentimental except in a certain light vein where the author leaves himself a way of instant escape to the safe ground of humor.

In the theater it is the same story. Of all the money paid for theater tickets at least three-quarters on a conservative estimate go to the vaudeville house and musical comedies which have avowedly no other object than to cater to the abnormally developed craving of the average American for "something funny." This proportion is too large for intellectual health in a nation.

Even our songs hold the mirror to the times. Indeed the change which has taken place in the last twenty-five years is nowhere more succinctly set forth than in our popular songs. The fear of ridicule was not so quick in our fathers. In all simplicity they sang of "Sweet Alice, Ben Bolt" and "In the Gloaming." To-day our young manhood sings of "Poor John" and "I'm Afraid to go Home in the Dark." Our over-developed sense of humor makes us feel uneasily that it is laughable for a man to give himself to the extent necessary to sing one of the old-time songs.

There is yet another manifestation of the same condition. As a nation we have no heroes, none at least who are worshiped as such. Carlyle, writing on hero-worship once cried out: "I say great men are still admirable; I say there is at bottom nothing else admirable! No nobler feeling than this of admiration for one higher than himself dwells in the heart of man. It is to this hour, and at all hours, the vivifying influence in man's

life." To this hour! What, alas, has become of hero-worship in our country? The poor bones of our long-dead ancestors are dragged out, arrayed in the gauds of the ludicrous and made to dance in the puppet show. The one exception to this seems to be Abraham Lincoln. Is it perhaps from a sense that we would be breaking blood-brotherhood to ridicule such an arch-humorist? Or was Lincoln what we consider the perfect balance between humor and seriousness? Reverence to-day is a virtue well-nigh obsolete. A man may do brave deeds and be for the moment a hero, and yet later if some trivial circumstance shows him in a laughable light, his real worth is quite forgotten and he becomes immediately a laughing stock. Or he may devote his life to unselfish toil for the betterment of his fellow-man, only to be heaped with undeserved ridicule.

Comedy undoubtedly lends the necessary spice of variety to the work-a-day world, but too much spice is unhealthy and deadens the keen edge of perception. A little study of the literature of the rest of the world will establish this beyond question. Try if you can to imagine a Werther living in the United States. You will find it impossible. Werther, of course, cannot be recommended as a model character, but young America could well stand a little admixture of his finer sensibilities.

It seems probable that our present humorous state is merely a passing phase, a growing pain which will leave us none the worse. But the end is long to wait, and meantime like the traveler on the desert we are being pushed out of the sanctum of our finer selves by this humped camel of humor which seemed so harmless.

EUNICE TIETJENS.

*New York City.*

## THE DEFEAT OF A MIGHTY CORPORATION.

BY HENRY FRANK.

A GREAT popular triumph has recently been won by the people of New York city. Nowhere in all the world is there so great danger of the enthralment of the masses by the gigantic corporate interests that control the nation's instrumentalities of wealth, as in our great metropolis. It had begun to be feared by many that the courts were being throttled by the corporations, and that common justice was beginning to be impossible if sought by the poor. Indeed, there have been several recent decisions of a disquieting character. The Supreme Court of the United States has rendered some opinions which apparently threaten the progress of organization and self-defense among the working masses of our land; the boycott as an instrument of self-protection has been outlawed while the brutality of the blacklist has been seemingly connived at; certain eminent and highly-respected labor leaders have been declared to be in contempt, and sentence of imprisonment has been pronounced against them; and the laudatory effort of an inferior court to impose a merited, howbeit heavy, fine upon the most colossal corporate criminal in Christendom has been abusively condemned and the case remanded by a higher court. Hence in view of such a catalogue of events, the sudden achievement of a victory by the people over a mighty corporation is indeed an event to cause us all to rejoice and give thanks.

The Consolidated Gas Company of New York city, a corporation within the grip of whose greedy clutches millions of our citizens have often suffered humiliation, discomfort and privation, is compelled by the courts to return to the people from whom they purloined it, some nine to twelve millions of dollars, not as conscience money indeed, but as money which by the mere right of might they nefari-

ously compelled the citizens to surrender.

The mere giving back of the money in itself is not so great a triumph as the fact that this infamous concern is forced to appreciate and respect the rights of the people whom they have heretofore so disdainfully scorned or disregarded. The victory teaches that not with impunity can even a gigantic combination of moneyed interests ignore the authority and control of the *corporate people who constitute the government*. It teaches that hereafter the offensive officers of that concern will be compelled to listen to the sincere complaints of a people whose interests they have heretofore treated with imperious indifference.

But stupendous as is this popular triumph, we must not overlook the agency which achieved it. In this land the hope and future of the people lie more in the freedom and efficiency of the press, than in any other instrumentality which our history has engendered. Once the press is enlisted on the side of the people, then we feel assured the god of battles is with us and ere long victory must perch on our banners. There are, indeed, only two appalling possibilities that confront our future. The one is a purchased and subsidized, and the other a restricted or muzzled, popular press. Once the time arrives when the press shall be but the mouthpiece of commercialized and selfish personal or corporate interests, disdaining the cry of the people and the needs of the masses, and we shall have approached the brink of the ruin of our civic liberties and social justice.

Once the press be suppressed by fear of persecution or the whip of merciless political autocrats or imperious industrial employers, and we might as well hang our harps on the willows of Babylon and despair of progress, peace or prosperity. In the free and unrestricted press of our

country we possess our true guide and the only palladium of our liberty. Once that is wrested from us and we would soon be smitten by the heels of social and civic monsters, whose only ambition would be their self-aggrandizement and merciless industrial conquest.

It is therefore a matter not only for rejoicing but an event full of prophetic hope, that through the direct intervention and instrumentality of one of the great newspapers of the city, assisted sympathetically by a few others, the courts were compelled to give due respect to the demands of a robbed and over-ridden people, whose cry would have been all in vain had not so strong a weapon of defense been unsheathed in their behalf. But this immediate victory inspires us with the hope that in the near future a far more glorious civic triumph awaits us, compared with which the immediate legal triumph will be but as water unto wine. If the people through the courts can force a corporation to disgorge the moneys they have stolen from them and teach it that it is, after all, but the people's servant and a creature of the majesty of the law which asserts their will, why cannot this same imperious people refuse to submit to the sway of commercial buccaners and own and control their own gas-works and operate them for their mutual benefit, void of personal profit or legalized robbery?

Once the press of the land is awake to the promises of a coöperative common-

wealth, wherein the people shall rule and spurn the effrontery of any scheming autocrat, the New Paradise will be at hand and the Kingdom of Heaven not far removed.

Once the press shall be convinced that the people are inherently right and to be implicitly trusted, it will clamor for the common-ownership not only of the public utilities, the great systems of transportation, the waterways, the railways, the lighting and heating agencies of civilization, but of all and every institution which is involved in the creation of the nation's wealth and its equitable distribution throughout the land.

Once the unpurchasable press discerns this far-visioned summit of civic promise and social justice, the reign of the brotherhood of man and the solidarity of the social consciousness will be proclaimed throughout the world. Then indeed will come the fall of despots and end of tyranny.

Man, the worker, man, my brother,  
Then in common love shall rule;  
Justice, swaying, shall not smother  
Souls aspiring in life's school.

Labor, then, no menial badge,  
On its heart shall wear; none,  
Bound to servitude of wage,  
Shall despond beneath the sun.

Then the strife for livelihood  
Shall not give the heart despair;  
Touched with sense of brotherhood,  
Each will give and take his share!

HENRY FRANK.

*New York City.*

## THE CENTRAL BANK IDEA.

BY ELLIS O. JONES.

TRADITION has it that the American people are unalterably opposed to a central or national or Federal bank. This tradition is handed down from the strenuous days of President Jackson who has become the patron political saint of a

large number of our people on account of his indefatigable fight against "the monster," as the Bank of the United States was habitually called in those days.

As a result of that tradition, the central bank has been a bugaboo to the practical

politician ever since, and the public press also touches the subject gingerly. The bank was the plain issue in 1836, and the Whigs, who favored the bank, were overwhelmingly defeated. And yet, the idea will not down. After the lapse of over three-score years and ten, the question looms up big on the political horizon. The comptroller of the currency has just gone on record in favor of it, and as a remedy for currency evils, emphasized by the recent financial panic, the central bank vies for first place with the asset currency scheme.

It may be said in general that tradition is usually a poor guide in important matters and for two principal reasons: first, because, through the passage of time, tradition invariably becomes distorted, so that the form alone is often cherished to the exclusion of the substance and, second, because times and conditions inevitably change so that tradition based on earlier and different times and conditions becomes antiquated.

So it is with this tradition. The average man of to-day receives this traditional antipathy towards the national bank without examination. He considers that the question of national or central banks has once been definitely fought out with great attendant financial disaster and economic misery, and so the average man stands appalled at the least suggestion of bringing it forward again as an issue.

Such an attitude, even the most hasty examination of what took place in the time of Jackson does not justify. Jackson did not oppose national banks in general. He was opposed to that particular institution known as the Bank of the United States whose charter, by legislative enactment, began in 1819 and was to expire in 1836. This distinction is important. Jackson kept this distinction prominently in mind throughout the entire discussion. His opening gun on the institution was fired in his first annual message to Congress, December 8, 1829, eight years before the expiration of the bank's charter. After justifying his early atten-

tion to the subject on the score of its prime importance, he said:

"Both the constitutionality and the expediency of the law creating this bank are well questioned by a large portion of our fellow-citizens, and it must be admitted by all that it has failed in the great end of establishing a uniform and sound currency."

Had he stopped with that purely negative position, the effort of some historians to make it appear that Jackson's opposition was unreasoning, ill-conceived, petty and personal might carry greater conviction. But he did not stop there. In the very next paragraph he hastens to take a positive, constructive stand as follows:

"Under these circumstances, if such an institution is deemed essential to the fiscal operations of the government, I submit to the wisdom of the legislature whether a national one, founded upon the credit of the government and its revenues, might not be devised which would avoid all constitutional difficulties and at the same time secure all the advantages to the government and country that were expected to result from the present bank."

Such in brief is the attitude which Jackson maintained throughout. He contended that the bank was nothing more or less than a gratuitous, special, governmental privilege to private individuals. In his message of 1832 vetoing an act to renew the charter, he figured that the government had already "donated" about seventeen million dollars to private individuals (laying stress on the fact that over one-fourth of these were foreigners) and that a renewal of the charter would mean another donation of a large amount. In another place, he said that such a bank should belong to the nation exclusively and especially if it was to be a bank of issue and discount as well as deposit; that it should be a purely governmental bank in which all the people should share. Benton, who was one of Jackson's chief supporters in Congress, continually harped on the point that the bank was an exclusive privilege to private individuals and



tended to make the rich richer and the poor poorer.

How far right Benton was is a great deal easier to judge at this day, than it was then, clouded as the question was with thousands of personal and political side issues. We have no difficulty in escaping the awe which surrounded the big financial and industrial leaders of the time. Besides we have been thoroughly schooled in stock-jobbing propositions. Therefore, hardly more than an outline of the scheme is necessary to convince us of its utter inadmissibility as a measure for the public good.

The bank was capitalized at thirty-five million dollars, of which by law the United States government was to buy seven millions at par. Thus, it was to be a corporation and the government was to be a minority stockholder with all the chances of being mulcted which minority stockholders usually possess. The rest of the stock, with certain minor and unimportant restrictions, was to be held by private individuals. To give due credit to the acumen of the lobbyists of those days and suggest that the people would not allow steals to go through without some pretense at least of fairness, the government was allowed five directors, out of a board of twenty-five, to be appointed by the President with the approval of the Senate. It was further provided that the government was to receive a bonus of \$1,500,000 in annual installments "in consideration of the exclusive privileges and benefits conferred by this act upon the said bank." These exclusive benefits provided that during the time of the charter, Congress should not charter any other bank or increase the capitalization of any bank already in existence, except under certain conditions, in the District of Columbia. It was this last provision, looked upon as an attempt to bind the acts of future Congresses that Jackson considered the chief constitutional objection. It was further provided that the legislature should have the right of examining the books of the bank with a

view to determining its security for government deposits.

With these safeguards, then, the United States was to deposit its money in the bank without interest, these deposits throughout the period ranging from \$4,057,000 to \$19,593,000 annually. In a word, that was the scheme. The government was to lend its name, its money and its credit. It was to put in seven millions of cash for stock and to place vast amounts of other moneys in the hands of private individuals. In return, it was to receive uncertain dividends on its stock (the actual dividends paid amounted to an average of six or seven per cent. per annum). It was to receive the \$1,500,000 as a payment for exclusive privileges. It was to receive banking facilities to the extent of having its moneys transferred from place to place without charge. There was nothing further. The government borrowed no money from the bank, as in the case of the Bank of England.

We who are familiar with a widespread system of paying interest on bank deposits, can readily see that everything the government received, including the bonus, and more could have been gained from any responsible banking institution without the granting of exclusive privileges.

So it may be seen that the second Bank of the United States was a clear-cut case of private graft upon the public and it was that feature which aroused Jackson's opposition. To be sure, Jackson had other arguments, such as the meddling of the bank in politics, the corruption of public servants and the public press and so on. At a later period in the discussion, it was charged that the bank deliberately called its loans in order to arouse the resentment of the people against the administration. If it did this, it merely threw a boomerang, for the financial depression only served to increase the unpopularity of the bank. Further consideration of these collateral reasons, however, may be eliminated from this paper.

The second weakness of tradition, above referred to, as a basis for public

policy lies in the change of conditions without a corresponding change in the tradition. Tradition has it that a bitter fight was once fought against a central bank and that nothing similar was substituted for the fallen institution. This is sufficient information for those who blindly follow tradition. In the meantime, however, we have been through four panics and are in the throes of a fifth. Is it not possible that each panic has taught us something? In the meantime also, we have financed three wars, emerging from each greater than before in point of productive capacity and, with the exception of the Civil War, in point of territory. Certainly each of these wars has severely jolted numerous traditions and forced new questions upon us. In the meantime also, there has been steadily manifest an inevitable tendency toward concentration and centralization. At that time, the question of state's rights was always rife, and a bitter war was yet to be fought on that very point. Now, the question of state's rights, while occasionally referred to, no longer possesses the power to factionalize men.

Especially during the last few years, have concentration and centralization of power and function with the Federal government received great impetus. The President of the United States and several members of the cabinet have openly advocated it as a definite policy. Here are the comprehensive words, recently uttered, of the venerable Lyman Abbott, editor of the *Outlook*:

"The day of great industrial combination has arrived. The great combinations, whether of labor or capital, are not to be broken up. They are not to be given control of the industries of the country. What then? They are to be made to serve the public welfare by being made subject to the power of a still greater and stronger combination, namely, that of all the people acting in and through the Federal government."

Those words are unequivocal and events substantiate their sanity. In spite

of rigid prohibitory laws, enacted not only by the central government but by nearly every state in the union as well and, in spite of the steady opposition of the Democratic party, concentration of capital, or trusts, has gone on practically unchecked.

On the other hand, in spite of powerful lobbies, in our national legislative bodies, the idea of Federal control and supervision has marched steadily onward. Call it what you will, unconstitutional usurpation, inevitable evolution or crass imperialism, it is nevertheless a fact. Railroad rate regulations, pure-food laws, meat inspection bills and the like are important instances.

In view of this tendency, it is but natural that the subject of a central bank should come up and, it may be prophesied with a reasonable degree of certainty, that a central bank of some sort will ere long be established.

To say the least, something must be done. Things cannot go on in the topsy-turvy way we now find them. At present, the statutory financial regulations of the country are largely ignored and our finances are running at the loosest of loose ends. Without legislative sanction, the public moneys are carted and bandied about among the private banks and the secretary of the treasury is the sole powerful autocrat of it all. Whether he is doing it well or ill, it is not within the province of this paper to judge. The fact remains. That is to say, we already have a kind of improvised central banking arrangement with no regulation whatever strong enough to meet the most commonplace emergency. It is like the case of the man who insisted upon perfect obedience from his dog to the extent that if the dog paid no attention to his orders, the man suited his commands to the whims of the dog.

The result is, under the present system, or lack of system, the government, the people, get all the disadvantages of a central bank, whatever they may be, without any of the advantages. What

are the disadvantages of a central bank? The disadvantages of such a bank as we had before, in which the government turns over all its resources to private individuals for their individual speculation and profit, ought to be obvious without further elaboration. Such a bank is not a central bank, properly so-called, and meets none of the needs of the present.

The disadvantages of a real central bank of the United States, owned and administered exclusively by the government, and operated for the benefit of all the people in conformity with the policy outlined by Lyman Abbott, are not so obvious. The place to look for such disadvantages is in the literature of opposition to postal savings-banks. But even postal savings-banks are coming more and more into favor with those who are in authority in this country. Several postmasters-general, including the present incumbent, have advocated the system. What seems more natural, if we are to have postal savings-banks, than that we should have a central postal savings-bank? And, if we are to have a central postal savings-bank, why should we not have a central banking institution, with the necessary branches, for all legitimate banking purposes? That is to say, why would it not be better to lend to any and all people, under proper regulations, than at present to lend exclusively to bankers with no

regulations whatsoever? Let others answer these three questions.

Those who believe that the government, the people, should continue to hand out free of charge, make donations as Jackson expresses it, valuable public rights for private individuals to exploit; those who believe with Hamilton that certain men in the community, by divine or other extraordinary right, are greater than the community itself, can undoubtedly find plenty of good and sufficient reasons for continuing the present chaotic lack of system by which the few are enriched at the expense and by the favor of the many: a system conceived in injustice and fraught with periodical widespread misery.

Those, on the other hand, who believe in greater centralization of function, a general policy which puts the whole people, the public good, first, which makes the whole exactly equal to the sum of its parts and which finds specific manifestation in the ever-increasing demand for municipal ownership of public utilities and Federal control of natural monopolies, such as telegraphs, parcels-post, railroads and even coal mines and kindred properties; those, I say, will see in the establishment of a central bank, on the proper lines, only another specific manifestation of a general evolutionary tendency.

ELLIS O. JONES.

*Columbus, Ohio.*

## THE DETERMINING VISION.

BY EMILY S. BOUTON.

UPON the shore which the waves touched softly as they advanced and receded, the youth lay stretched out on the soft, warm sand with his eyes fixed gloomily upon the ever-moving waters. And yet what he saw was very beautiful. Over the surface of the sea which, at first, wore a dull, leaden hue—the shadow of

the clouds covering the sky—there began a wonderful play of color produced by the sun-shafts that had pierced the gray veil and was making what the poets name the amethystine sea. In the sunset west grew a golden glow crossed by marvelous waves of fire. These touched the edges of the clouds now broken into irregular

masses floating across the blue, with varying tints reflected again and again in the mirror below. The air shimmered and changed into an opaline transparency as if from some central heart was pouring streams of light to shiver it into colors of changing intensity.

The youth lay and watched the glory of sea and sky which no words can adequately describe, until the pain that had shadowed his eyes and furrowed his brow had departed. It had been to him a day of days. In the early morning he had found himself at the entrance of two paths and compelled to choose which one he would follow. In other words, two offers had been made for his young manhood's work and energy. The one promised an easy way to wealth and power; the other, rough climbing with weary feet so far as his vision of the future could reach. The temptation to take the first was almost irresistible. And yet! In his heart of hearts, he knew that the one meant the gradual deadening of his highest impulses; the other, spiritual growth through suffering.

The tempter had woven specious arguments that inclosed him like a web, constantly growing stronger. Almost he had yielded, when there came to him suddenly the words of his mother's prayer with which she had sent him forth into the world: "Father, give this, my son, strength to resist temptation." Thrilled by the memory, he had broken away and sought the solitude of the seashore, there to fight the battle with the selfish self to a finish.

Slowly the brilliant colors faded into purple twilight shadows close at hand, but afar off in the horizon was still the "light shattered into heliotrope hues without a suspicion of darkness." Oh, the mystery of it! Oh, the glory of it!

Suddenly out of the light the youth saw the figure of a man drawing near. As he watched its slow approach, he was awed by the majesty of its mien, the stateliness of its bearing. Presently in the dimness a face was defined, tender, benignant,

with luminous eyes that seemed to look into his very soul.

"Come with me."

The words were low, musically accented, and tinged with an authority which he did not hesitate to obey. Taking the outstretched hand of his companion, he found himself slowly rising without volition of his own, and moving through the radiant sunset air.

They seemed to float over cities and seas, sometimes above the clouds that veiled from their vision the earth below. An indescribable sense of exhilaration filled his whole being. He spoke no word, felt no fear, or even wonderment at his strange experience.

Presently they began to move downward. Suddenly he found himself standing quietly by his companion, whom he now observed to be clothed in luminous garments as if an inner light were shining through. They were upon the summit of a very high mountain. The peak upon which they stood seemed to have shot upward and outward, bringing into view a narrow valley or ravine lying between it and a similar mountain-peak opposite.

"Look below you," said his companion to the youth.

In the depths were shadows so deep that at first he could see nothing clearly defined. Gradually he became conscious that figures were moving to and fro, a confused multitude pushing and jostling each other, pausing not to help those who fell, but cruelly trampling them beneath their feet. Apart from the hurrying crowd were others who seemed to be digging into the earth. They never paused in their labor, never looked upward toward the blue sky, but worked, *worked* unceasingly, for as fast as they threw out what looked like shining sand, it fell back again into the hollows they had made. As he gazed there came to his ear a low, hoarse roar like that of an angry sea, sometimes rising almost to a shriek, anon dying away into a murmur in which was always a note of pain.

"Tell me, who are these people," the



youth exclaimed, at last, turning to his companion. "And let us go away. I cannot bear to look longer. Who are these wretched ones?"

"They are those who, through love of money, and a desire for the ease and luxury which its possession makes possible, forgot that they had any duty to their fellow-men. Uncaring, they based their wealth upon the sorrows, the poverties, the robberies of the helpless, day by day their greed strengthening, until its grip of steel was upon body, brain and soul. When the change men call death came to them, it did not alter their desires and ambitions, but they entered into this land wherein there is never satisfaction, and here they unceasingly strive for what they can never obtain."

"And must they always remain thus?" asked the youth with intensely pitying gaze. "Is there no hope of anything better?"

"The door leading into the brighter world where walk the shining Ones, the Helpers, and where is to be found the peace which, you have heard, passeth all understanding by those in the flesh, is never closed so long as there is a single aspiration, one desire to gain the clearer, purer atmosphere of the Spirit. Yet it is rare that any of these look upward. The love of gold has so interpenetrated their whole being that nothing save a mad desire for its possession enters their thought. And this desire is never satisfied. There is always the longing which is a constantly growing agony."

"How terrible it is!" cried the youth. "Why is not the world shown this picture that it may take warning?"

"It would be in vain for it would not look," was the sad reply. "Has not the Elder Brother pointed out the way to the better life? Men either give no heed to

his words or distort their meaning until they are of no avail. He taught that always the thought must be pure, must reflect the divine love, must dwell only upon the good and the true in order to gain strength to reach the heights. It is right-thinking which at last makes men but little lower than the angels. Instead of this, carelessly do they enter the pathway leading into this valley of death, their thought fascinated and held by the illusory idea of the possession of wealth. Rarely do they turn backward; rarely do they seek to find a possible place and moment of choice such as is given once to every human being. Not that it is forbidden him to follow right at any moment, but there is always a time when it is easier. Happy is he who chooses wisely in the beginning."

Into the voice of the speaker as he uttered the last sentence had come an intense earnestness which vibrated to the heart of the listening youth. While he pondered he suddenly became conscious that he was alone, that the valley with its tragic multitude was gone from his sight, nor could he hear the roar of their tumultuous striving. Instead of this was the soft and rhythmic wash of waters upon the sand. The play of colors in the western sky had ceased, leaving only the golden glow that is the day's farewell.

The youth arose from what seemed an hour's slumber, but he knew he had been shown a vision. His hesitation was over. His choice was made. Not for all the luxury that money could buy; not for the power which the possession of wealth uncounted might give, would he turn his face toward the valley, of which the shadows would never fade from his memory. And thus deciding, he took his homeward way.

EMILY S. BOUTON.

*Toledo, Ohio.*

## MEDICAL EXPLANATIONS OF CHRISTIAN SCIENCE CURES CONSIDERED IN THE LIGHT OF TYPICAL CASES.

By B. O. FLOWER.

### I.

SINCE we founded THE ARENA, in the autumn of 1889, to the present time, during the years when this review has been under our editorial management, we do not call to mind more than three instances where a paper appearing in our pages has called forth more favorable letters or inquiries than have been elicited by our contribution in the November ARENA on "Christian Science and Organic Disease." Many valued friends have called at the office to discuss its contents, and from Canada and various parts of the Republic have come letters expressive of new and general interest in the subject and asking for further facts, which we intimated could be given in substantiation of the claims made. Perhaps the general tenor of these letters and conversations with interested parties can best be summed up in the following expressions by two of our readers.

One friend said: "Until reading your paper in THE ARENA for November, I had unhesitatingly accepted the position which the medical profession and most writers in the magazines and newspapers have assumed when discussing cures said to have been made by Christian Science practitioners,—namely, that the diseases were not correctly diagnosed; that though in many cases there may have been no intention on the part of the patient to deceive or falsify, the conclusions were due to loose thinking or 'intellectual mistiness'; that though in many instances the cures, as Dr. Cabot observes, doubtless took place, 'they were

not cures of organic disease.' I accepted without question the opinion of Dr. Cabot when he said, 'In my own personal researches into Christian Science "cures," I have never found one in which there was any good evidence that cancer, consumption, or any other organic disease had been arrested or banished.\* Faulty or incompetent diagnosis was in my judgment the first explanation of the apparent cures of organic disease by Christian Scientists. Secondly, I believed that the persons making the statement, while probably usually sincere and in a general way good people, were chiefly ignorant and over-credulous, many of them prone to exaggeration, and not a few desiring to pose and attract attention,—something very common at the present day, when sensationalism is rampant. In the third place, I believed that whatever real cures had been accomplished under Christian Science treatment were clearly due to suggestion, not in nature different from that practiced by physicians who employ hypnotism, though in the case of Christian Scientists, of course, the end was attained without hypnosis. Your paper, containing as it did the deliberate testimony of two eminent diagnosticians, one an Englishman and the other an American, and both men who had been signally honored while actively practicing medicine, instantly arrested my attention. The views of these men certainly merited respectful consideration as expert opinions; and the amazing character of the cures they recorded, together with the clear and

\*Dr. Cabot in McClure's Magazine; quoted in November ARENA.

logical manner in which the material was presented, has compelled me to revise my opinions. So far as they went, the cases as presented in the November ARENA seemed to me unanswerable; but in the presence of a world-entrenched skepticism and with the medical profession as a whole, and the clergy, practically a unit in opposing the conclusions that logically followed the facts presented, it occurred to me that the cause of truth would be greatly furthered if you should give us other cases that would tend to confirm the positions taken in your paper on 'Christian Science and Organic Disease,' and thus further break down the prejudice born of long-accepted and rarely-questioned views."

The other friend also urged us to give additional cases, because, as he pointed out, there is a vast amount of literature emanating from the other side, and even the position of the leaders of the widely-discussed Emanuel movement is in perfect harmony with the conventional medical contention that no organic disease can be cured by methods other than those practiced by the medical fraternity.

The importance of the subject, the general interest in our previous paper, and the reasons urged by our friends, have led us to conclude that a further citation of typical cases might be helpful in stimulating that thorough investigation which truth challenges and which all theories, opinions or truths not generally accepted must encounter before the barriers of prejudice, conservative thought and preconceived ideas are broken down. We therefore invite our readers' attention to a further examination, in which the three popular views advanced by the medical profession and the critics of Christian Science will be considered in the light of certain facts which will tend to test their validity and answer the question as to whether they are sufficient to explain the vast and rapidly growing volume of alleged cures of persons on whom, in many instances, physicians have passed the death sentence.

## II.

The three principal replies or explanations vouchsafed when claims of cures of organic disease are made by friends of Christian Science, may be briefly summed up as follows:

(1) Inaccurate or faulty diagnosis, made by the patients instead of by competent physicians.

(2) That those making the claims of remarkable cures were persons of unschooled minds, not trained to sift evidence or to consider matters judicially; that they were frequently not only unscientific in their processes of reasoning, but over-credulous and prone to exaggeration.

(3) Where cures were effected, they have been of merely functional disorders and have been the result of suggestion, essentially similar in character to that employed by hypnotists, though the results were obtained without throwing the subject into a sleep.

With these explanations in mind, we invite the readers' consideration to the detailed history of a case that in many respects is the most notable instance of cure in the annals of modern healing,—a case rendered doubly valuable as an illustration because of the supposed incurable character of the disease and the fact that from the view-point of *materia medica* the question of diagnosis leaves nothing to be desired. The history of the case by the physician in Chicago, up to the time when Christian Science stepped in, is on record in probably the most authoritative regular medical journal in the New World; while the story of the rescue of the medically-doomed invalid from darkness and despair, from untold agony and impending death, to perfect health under Christian Science, is here given as narrated by the husband of the patient as clearly and comprehensively as the downward course of the unfortunate woman's health under the care of eminent medical men was given by one of their own number.

In the *Journal of the American Medical Association* for July 27, 1907, is found the following paper which we republish entire because of the importance of the facts in connection with the question we are now considering. The paper is contributed to the *Journal* by James B. Herrick, M. D., of Chicago, Illinois.

"The following case is reported because it is, I believe, the first instance recorded of the recovery from generalized blastomycosis. It is worthy of note also that the patient was a woman and of the better class. Blastomycosis in women is apparently a rarity. The patient was under the care of Dr. A. C. Garvy, with whom I saw her many times. This preliminary report is made with the kind consent of Dr. Garvy, who will later present a more detailed history of the case. It should encourage one in the persistent treatment of blastomycosis even of the generalized type, as it shows that a certain percentage, probably a small one, may terminate in healing.

"*History.*—The patient was Mrs. O., 24 years of age, for at least 15 years a resident of Chicago, of healthy, well-to-do parents, and with no severe preceding illness except the usual diseases of childhood, and nervous disturbances, largely hysterical, in 1899. She had been married eighteen months, and was the mother of a healthy child three months old, which she was nursing at the time she was taken ill.

"April 24, 1904, the illness began, to quote her own words, 'with spots like hives and pains like rheumatism.' The first lesions were noticed over the left gluteal region. There was no fever at first, at least none that attracted attention, and the general health was not impaired for several weeks. The illness lasted for two years, and during this time there were seventy-nine distinct lesions. These varied in size from those 1 cm. in diameter to areas 8 cm. or more broad. They started as slightly reddish or purplish spots, showing through the skin or felt deep in the subcutaneous tissue. They

gradually became more prominent, somewhat hard and tender, and a pseudo fluctuation or a genuine fluctuation appearing, the lesions would break through the skin, discharging a thick, yellowish pus, or they would be opened by the physician; in a few instances spontaneous resolution without rupture occurred. After the evacuation of the pus a somewhat indolent granulating ulcer would be left, and there was often an extensive undermining of the skin, with burrowing of the pus. This was particularly marked over the left gluteal region where the deep situation of the abscess and its great size necessitated a drainage operation under anesthesia, which was done by Dr. J. B. Murphy, May 12, 1905. This abscess had its origin in the deeper structures, apparently in the pelvis. The lesions in some instances, as on one of the fingers, destroyed the bone. On healing they left comparatively slight scars that in their parchment-like feel somewhat resembled those of lues. Lues in the husband as well as in the patient was carefully excluded.

"*Course of the Disease.*—The general condition of the patient during the two years of illness varied very materially. Most of the time there was a slight temperature, with occasional exacerbations, when it would reach 102° or 103°. The pulse was generally rapid, a hemic murmur present and the spleen palpable. Early in the illness there was a cough, and Dr. Garvy thought he detected signs of slight consolidation at the right apex. When I saw her I could make out no evidence of pulmonary lesion; at this time there was no cough. The urine showed an occasional trace of febrile (?) albumin. There was marked loss in weight and a secondary anemia. The hemoglobin at one time was as low as 50 per cent; an increase in the leucocytes was commonly present. At the time of the operation by Dr. Murphy the condition was so aggravated that it was thought she would die upon the table. There was generally more or less dis-



turbance of the stomach. At times the pain was extreme and the patient was always decidedly neurotic and even hysterical. This interfered very much with her sleep.

*"Treatment"*—The medication consisted of iodide of potassium, often in increasingly large doses. This seemed to benefit her decidedly, but there was never a complete healing of all the lesions, and the iodide often had to be stopped because of gastric distress occasioned by its prolonged use. The sulphate of copper was tried internally and locally, but with very doubtful benefit. Tonics and sedatives were given as indicated, the latter being of necessity used with a free hand.

*"Recovery."*—In February, 1906, the patient left for California, weighing about 100 pounds instead of her original 130 pounds or more. There were still thirty-one sores on the body. The patient became quieter and less nervous, lived much of the time out of doors, began to sleep well, to improve as regards appetite, and there was soon a very decided tendency to healing of the sores. No medicine was taken after March 23, 1906. In August, 1906, the last sore had disappeared. I have seen the patient several times since and she is apparently, at the date of this writing, July 12, 1907, in perfect health. She writes me under recent date—"I am better now than I have ever been in my whole life, and can endure anything and never have an ache or pain."

*"Diagnosis."*—The diagnosis of blastomycosis was made, not only on the clinical symptoms, including the naked eye appearance of the lesions and the exclusion of other diseases, tuberculosis, syphilis, etc., but by the microscopic examination of the pus from the wounds with a cultural development of the blastomyces. The culture experiments were made by Dr. Oliver Ormsby. The patient was seen at various times by Drs. James Nevins Hyde, Joseph Zeisler and J. B. Murphy. They agreed in the

diagnosis of generalized blastomycosis."

Here we have contributed, by a high medical authority, the history of this remarkable case of a supposed incurable ailment; the terrible progress of the disease; the apparent approaching fatal termination; the statement of recovery, carrying a wholly inaccurate impression, it being an example of Hamlet with the Prince left out; and the diagnosis of the case. The latter is so complete that it ought to leave no doubt in the mind of the medical profession as to the accuracy of the diagnosis, if any faith is ever to be placed in medical diagnosis.

Now comes the history of the cure; and in passing let us say that this article was prepared by Mr. David Oliver of Chicago, the husband of the patient whose case has been so carefully diagnosed, to be published in a magazine that had printed an article from an eminent doctor in which he claimed that Christian Science had never cured a case of organic disease; but the magazine refused to publish this plain statement of facts. It was later given by Mr. Oliver for publication in the *Christian Science Sentinel*.

"The writer begs to take issue with a statement which appeared several months ago in one of our leading magazines, in which a doctor claimed that in his personal research into Christian Science cures he had never found one case in which there was any good evidence that cancer, consumption, or any other organic disease had been arrested or banished, and that the diagnosis was either made by the patient himself, or was an interpretation at second hand of what a doctor was supposed to have said. The writer has not made a personal research, but has come 'face to face' with a case of so-called organic disease, which he is fully convinced was cured in Christian Science, in spite of any opinions which may be held by physicians and others to the contrary.

"An article appeared in the *American Medical Association Journal*, under date

of July 27, 1907, which gave a complete statement of the case to which reference is made. By way of explanation it may be said that according to medical opinion blastomycosis is so-called organic disease, as unsightly as leprosy and as painful as any form of rheumatic trouble known to suffering mortals. To impress one with the severity of this case, it may be noted that the knife was used some eighty odd times, and that up to the present time there has never been a positive cure of such a case known in the history of medicine. It may also be of interest to know that the patient suffered from this terrible disease for over two years, and was treated by a number of eminent physicians, and that they agreed upon the diagnosis of the case as given in the medical journal already named. The writer of this testimony is the husband of the patient, and the facts herein related can be substantiated by any of the medical doctors who attended the case. The article referred to would give one the impression that the 'out-of-door' life in sunny California had a decided tendency toward the healing of this case, but the facts are that the weather during the patient's stay in California was rainy and disagreeable, which confined her to the house during her entire stay, with the exception of a few hours which were spent upon the porch.

"The patient was taken ill the latter part of May, 1904, and was not able to leave her bed except for a short period until taken to California in February, 1906. Upon her arrival in Los Angeles, she was refused admission to all hotels, hospitals, and sanitariums, nor was it possible to lease a house after the owner had ascertained the nature of the disease. At last, as a final resort, it became necessary to purchase a house for her shelter. A remarkable coincidence happened in the purchase of that house. After being turned from door to door, it certainly seemed a miracle to have the owner of that house recommend Christian Science, though she herself was not a Scientist.

Like all others who have had to be driven into the acceptance of the truth, my wife scorned the idea of being cured in Christian Science, until she was told point blank by her Los Angeles physician that her place was at home, where she could 'die among her friends.' Then came the resolution to accept the truth, and she did so right there and then. The physician was dismissed in the forenoon and a Christian Science practitioner called in the afternoon. Up to that time the patient had had little or no natural sleep during the entire illness, and had, during the past several weeks, retained none of her food. At this time she weighed less than ninety pounds, her normal weight being over one hundred and thirty. The rapidity of her progress under Christian Science treatment was almost phenomenal and unless substantiated by responsible people would certainly sound mythical or, to put it stronger, like a downright falsehood.

"March 28, 1906, was the last day that the physician called, and the first day of the Christian Science treatment. It may seem past belief, but after the first treatment in Science the patient drank two cups of coffee and ate several doughnuts and a plate of baked beans for her evening meal. She then slept until after seven o'clock the next morning, and without the usual 'capsule,' too. Within a month she returned to Chicago, and although able to walk but little, showed rapid daily progress under treatment by a Christian Science practitioner in that city. In July of the same year she had regained her normal weight, and could walk and stand as much physically as she could prior to her illness. To-day she is the same, after having spent the past year in a trip around the world without a sign of the aches and pains which usually accompany such a feat.

"It is well worth one's while to take the time to think of what Christian Science did in this case. Those who read this article carefully will see that Christian Science actually put life into a

human being who had been as it were at death's door for more than a year."

Let the candid truth-seeker consider this case in connection with the persistent claims of the medical profession in general, that there never has been a case of organic disease cured by Christian Science; and in this connection also let him call to mind the detailed account of cures of organic disease as given by Dr. W. F. W. Wilding, Member of the Royal College of Surgeons of England and of the British Medical Association, and by Edmund F. Burton, M.D., formerly member of the surgical staff of the Cook County Hospital of Chicago and instructor in the Rush Medical College. These two scholarly physicians, whose eminent ability won them such high honors and the confidence of their brethren when they were medical practitioners, surely are entitled to be regarded as thoroughly competent diagnosticians; and they, it will be remembered, gave detailed accounts of cures wrought by Christian Science in many cases, among which were:

(a) Tuberculosis of both hip joints and consumption of the lungs, with the patient, a child of eight years, reduced to thirty pounds in weight. (This case was Dr. Wilding's own little daughter.)

(b) Traumatic disease of the knee joint, in which the joint was greatly enlarged "and the various component parts were little else than a mass of pulpy swelling."

(c) Organic disease of the valves of the heart.

(d) Paralysis of twenty years standing.

(e) Broken bone restored to normal condition without aid of surgical treatment.

(f) Cancer of the stomach; patient in advanced condition; death considered imminent.\*

All these cases, it will be remembered, are reported by persons whose medical

education and training entitle them, even from a medical view-point, to the position of experts as diagnosticians; while in the case of Mrs. Oliver, according to the *Journal of the American Medical Association*, three eminent medical diagnosticians examined her case and passed on it.

(Now if it can be proven that one clearly defined case of organized disease has been cured by Christian Science, the claim of Dr. Richard Cabot and the medical profession in general, that organic disease cannot be cured by this system of healing, falls to the ground.) We hold that if medical testimony is worth anything, if the slightest reliance is to be placed on the diagnosis of eminent and honored physicians, the case of Mrs. Oliver, taken together with those of Dr. Wilding and Dr. Burton, proves not only the possibility but the fact that organic disease has been and is being cured by Christian Science.

Nor is this all. Many of the cases which we are about to cite as illustrative of the other contentions advanced by critics of Christian Science, by virtue of their circumstantial character will impress all intelligent truth-seekers, not blind because they will not see, as extremely valuable as corroborative evidence of the fallacy of the claim of faulty diagnosis accounting for seeming cures of organic disease by Christian Science practitioners.

### III.

Turning from the examination of the question of diagnosis, we come to notice the second claim advanced when cures are cited by patients who have been restored to health after placing themselves under Christian Science treatment.

A few years ago it was very common, when these alleged cures were mentioned, to hear them promptly dismissed with the confident declaration that the persons making such claims of cures were ignorant, credulous, and often not over-

\*See ARENA for November, 1908, pages 446 to 452.

conscientious, or persons easily influenced by what others told them. And to-day the claim is constantly made that those who report their cures are not persons whose minds are trained to weigh evidence, to judge and discriminate; that they are over-credulous and therefore little weight is to be placed on their testimony.

Before examining this very common and convenient explanation advanced by the critics of Christian Science and those ignorant of the facts involved, we wish in passing to touch upon one phase of the question that seems to have escaped the attention of those who are biased in their views concerning Christian Science. Quite apart from the vast and rapidly growing volume of alleged cures by Christian Science of serious organic diseases, there is a mighty army of persons who have been rescued from the living death experienced by those whose nervous systems have become completely broken down and who, through various forms of diseases that physicians might term functional, were living lives of such indescribable misery as to frequently call forth the earnest prayer that they might be so blessed as to die,—a great army of men and women whom the medical profession have been powerless to cure or even materially relieve, but who have been completely restored by Christian Science.

These persons, many of them distinguished in business, political, professional and educational spheres of activity, whose cases so long baffled regular treatment and who from chronic invalidism are to-day enjoying perfect health, are in much the position of the blind man described in the scriptures, whose sight was restored by the Great Nazarene. (It will be remembered that the conventional doctors of the law, the chief priests, scribes and Pharisees, who represented the professional world with all its prejudice and intolerance, were greatly exercised by the cure. They attempted, in the first place, to deny the validity of the

claim by insisting that the man was not the person he pretended to be. When the parents were called, however, they discomfited the critics by insisting that the man was their son, who had been born blind. Next the conventional critics sought to terrorize the parents and the fortunate man by insisting that the cure had not been wrought by a prophet of God, because the good deed had been performed on the Sabbath. The blind man, however, manifested his impatience at the quibbling of the schoolmen, emphatically insisting on the one point that was vital in so far as he was concerned: "One thing I know, that, whereas I was blind, now I see.")

So to those who have been rescued from a living death or brought back from the brink of the grave by Christian Science treatment, after all other methods had failed, the fact that they are in the enjoyment of abounding health is far more material to them than the question whether the disease which was carrying them to the grave was functional or organic.

It may be urged that persons who are suffering from neurasthenia or general nervous collapse are not in a position to judge of their condition, and this is doubtless measurably true in some cases, where the mind has never been trained to rigid logical processes, to weighing evidence, or to considering facts in relation to other facts. But in the case of scholars, lawyers, judges, and critical thinkers, our observations lead us to conclude that these conditions frequently increase the mental perspicacity.

With this general observation concerning a large class of persons, many of them distinguished judges, lawyers, critics, authors, artists and members of other professions, who have been restored to lives of usefulness by Christian Science, let us notice this third popular claim,—that of the incompetency of those who have been cured to speak truthfully and accurately in regard to their restoration after long and faithful treat-



ment under regular physicians had proved unavailing. A volume could be compiled composed entirely of the statements of cures of judges, lawyers and critical thinkers, or where evidence has been obtained under oath and with corroborative facts that render the testimony unimpeachable. Space, however, renders it impossible for us to cite more than a few well authenticated typical cases where the facts are of such a character as to entitle them to the careful consideration of all earnest truth-seekers.

In the first place, we desire to give the case of Judge John D. Works, the eminent jurist of Los Angeles, California, and in so doing we confine ourselves to the evidence elicited under oath on the witness stand at a trial in Los Angeles, California. We do this because it cannot be claimed that such statements are the garbled or colored narratives of reporters or that they are the careless statements such as certain physicians seem to imagine all people who are not cured by the regular methods are wont to indulge in when describing their cures. To economize space we omit many of the questions asked and condense replies, while retaining the witnesses' exact words in the testimony given.

The Hon. John D. Works is one of the very prominent lawyers of the Pacific coast. He was for some years judge of the Superior Court of San Diego County, and later was one of the associate judges of the Supreme Court of the State. In answer to the question as to his trouble and his experience in the treatment of the same, he said:

"I had been a sufferer for many years from stomach trouble mainly. I had resorted to all kinds of treatment, allopathic, homeopathic, osteopathic, and my condition had grown steadily worse. I had lost something over thirty pounds in flesh. During much of this time I was taking active treatment from physicians for my condition, some of them attributing it to one cause and some another and directing their remedies to

whatever they conceived to be the cause of my trouble.

None of them seemed to do me any good. Latterly, I was a sufferer almost constantly from headache, mostly in the back of my head, which was exceedingly distressing, and to a very large extent towards the last incapacitated me for the kind of work that I had to do. I was really not able to do my full day's work. Generally I had to quit at three or half past three, o'clock, unable to finish out the day's work. I had tried what I regarded as thoroughly competent physicians in their different schools and whom I had no doubt were entirely conscientious in their treatment. But deriving no benefit, I finally went to a Christian Science practitioner and told her what my condition was. She told me to eat three meals a day, eat what I wanted, and that she would take care of the balance. I commenced to do so and I am eating my three meals a day now, and suffer no discomfort from it. I have been relieved from headaches almost entirely. I am able to do my full day's work without discomfort, and am benefited generally in every way."

In June of last year, Judge Works gave an extended report of his cure, from which it is shown that under Christian Science treatment his various troubles steadily gave way, until he came into the enjoyment of excellent health and regained all his lost flesh. His health has remained excellent since his cure, now a period of some years.

Judge Works also described under oath the cure of his wife by Christian Science, after a condition of chronic invalidism extending over a period of more than fifteen years.

During the trial at which the Judge's testimony was given, a number of other highly respectable representative citizens of Los Angeles, including a number of prominent business and professional men of the city, also testified to cures wrought on themselves and members of their families through Christian Science, in

many instances after faithful and conscientious but unavailing treatment by physicians. Among those who thus testified were Mr. William Pridham, superintendent of the Wells, Fargo & Company's Express for thirty-four years; R. P. Bishop, of the firm of Bishop and Company; W. E. Brown, of the firm of Brown, Stanley and Company; and Dr. A. Willis Paine.

There were among those that testified some remarkable cures of patients who, according to their physicians, had tuberculosis in advanced stages. One of these cases—that of Mrs. Lila Young—we cite because the evidence here given was under oath and with the consciousness that the witness would be subjected to severe cross examination; so that the claim of loose or careless reporting of the facts cannot be advanced. One of the physicians who had pronounced Mrs. Young's case tuberculosis was the eminent Dr. R. Beverly Cole, one of the most famed physicians of the Pacific coast. When he examined her, her case was so advanced that he held out no hope of recovery for her. The restoration was accomplished many years ago and the patient's health has steadily improved during this period. She for some years has enjoyed most excellent health. Here, as in Judge Works' case, we condense the answers, retaining in every instance, however, the witness's exact words:

"I was healed of consumption. My people, my mother and her family, consisting of six in the family, all died with consumption, and I was doctored for many years. There were twelve years that I was in bed the greater part of the time, and an eminent physician of San Francisco was the last physician that told me—he examined my lungs and shook his head and said that he didn't know what to do for me. He said he knew of no climate—he said, 'I can only compare you to the sensitive plant; heat or cold, you will wither away.' It seemed to me he explained my situation

better than I could. And at that time, there hadn't been a day, I presume for more than a year, that I sat up all day. I was healed by Christian Science after I had no other hope."

In the cross examination Mrs. Young gave the name of the distinguished physician who last pronounced on her case. In reply to a question, "You had consumption, did you?" she replied, "The doctors said I had. Dr. Beverly Cole was one of them, whom probably nearly every one here knows of, as he is known everywhere."

Under date of December 18, 1908, in answer to a personal inquiry from us, Mrs. Young wrote that she now weighs 150 pounds, and her friends are all ready to say, "You don't look as though you ever had consumption." "I have been well now for fifteen years," adds Mrs. Young.

When, after the publication of our paper in the November *ARENA*, general interest was evinced in this question, we wrote to a number of persons who were said to have been cured of well-defined organic diseases or troubles about the cure of which the doctors held out no hope. We have received a number of replies, in all of which the writers testified to the verity of the cures; but space renders it impossible to give more than three or four of these cases, and in some instances we have found it necessary to abridge the statements, or rather to omit those portions of the reports that do not directly deal with the cure of the disease or affliction under consideration. The cases, however, are so clear and detailed in character and come from persons of such standing that they are of special interest and value, not only as answering the special objection we are considering, but as further proving the power of Christian Science to cure organic disease and afflictions considered by physicians as incurable.

The first case to which we wish to invite the attention of our readers is that of Mr. J. J. Petermichel, Official

Reporter of the Superior Court, Los Angeles, California, who under date of December 21, 1908, writes:

"It affords me pleasure to comply with your request for an account of my cure.

"The doctors pronounced my trouble, as near as I can now remember the language, 'Mixed tubercular infection with a combination of mucous, the sputum showing or indicating cavities of long standing and tubercles in large quantities.' About six months prior to the time of the microscopical examination of the sputum, I had partly recovered from a ten weeks' illness of double pneumonia, which left my lungs filled with mucous, making the case a more complicated one and very difficult of cure.

"I had been affected for about five years, the major portion of which time was spent in travelling in search of a climate that would be beneficial.

"The names of the doctors who treated me, as far as I can now remember (I do not now recall their initials, as it has been almost ten years since I have given them any thought) are as follows: In Chicago, Doctors Way, Reynolds and Stryzowski, and one or two others. Doctors Way and Stryzowski advised me to consult with Dr. Norman Bridge, one of Chicago's noted specialists, and have an examination made. Dr. Bridge, after such examination, advised me to go to California, although he declined to state definitely how serious my trouble was. In California I had several physicians at the different places where I located, but can now only recall Dr. Bayliss of San Bernardino and Dr. Kruell of Los Angeles. Dr. Kruell was my last physician and upon his advise a microscopical examination of the sputum was made by Dr. Croftan of Pasadena, who made a report substantially in the language hereinbefore stated. Dr. Kruell told me that he had exhausted all remedies known to his profession, and it was his frank opinion medicine could do no more

for me; he advised me to return East with my family so that I could die among my friends and relatives and my family could be taken care of. He held out no hope and gave me a month to live. About two months prior to that time Dr. Bayliss told me if I did not find a climate that would benefit me I would not live three months. My friends had given up all hope, and as one of them expressed himself some time after my cure in Christian Science: 'While standing on a corner talking to Petermichel, who was waiting for a car, I was anxious to get him on the car as quickly as possible and get him out of my sight, as I was afraid he would die on my hands.' To give you some idea of my condition, I might state that I at that time weighed 120 pounds; that my normal weight was 160 pounds, and I now weigh over 185 pounds. I, at that time, had not a pound of flesh on me, was practically a walking skeleton, had reached the stage where I was blue around the lips, unable to walk ten feet at one effort, a perpetual dry cough racking my frame day and night, unable to eat or retain food, and unable to breathe without great effort, and having finally given up all hope of a cure and expecting any day to be my last.

"I had removed from the mountains to Los Angeles with the intention of disposing of my effects and taking my family East to their relatives. Our neighbors on each side of us were Christian Scientists and it was upon their, and my wife's earnest solicitations, and primarily to satisfy my wife that I was willing to do anything to be cured, that I consented to one week's treatment. At the time the thought of God doing anything for me was repugnant, as I was not of a very religious turn of mind, having found nothing in the various religions I had investigated that appealed to me; therefore having no faith in God's disposition or ability to heal me. At the time of engaging the treatment I informed the practitioner that I had no faith in the

treatment and there would have to be some appreciable benefit realized within the week or treatment would be discontinued. After the first treatment I was told to go home and eat heartily of such food as I desired and to fear no ill effects, following the scriptural injunction to 'Take no thought for your food.' I partook of a hearty meal, with some misgiving and considerable skepticism as to my ability to retain the food, but strange as it may seem, no ill effects followed. I enjoyed my meal and the food remained on my stomach (something I had been unable to do for six months); I spent a more restful night, having some sleep and more restful breathing. The first week I gained some two pounds in weight, was able to be about with more comfort, able to breathe with less difficulty and at greater depth; the cough became easier and less painful; my appetite became better, and, best of all, hope was renewed within me and I began to see the possibility of a cure and I learned that God was not only able, but willing to cure me. I continued under treatment with the practitioner for five weeks, at the end of which time I felt I was able to (with the understanding of the rules of Christian Science and their application, gained from the practitioner and from the study of the text-book, *Science and Health*, during that time) conduct my own treatment. In about eight weeks after beginning the treatment I was at work at my profession, and have continued at work during the past nine and one-half years without the loss of one day on account of sickness.

"It was some two years before I regained normal weight and before my friends would admit that the cure was permanent, although I was conscious of the healing after I had left the practitioner after my last treatment, the fear of the disease having been destroyed, and I was conscious of the fact that I had no disease and it would be only a matter of the physical effects to follow. I am now

36 years of age, enjoying vigorous health, able to work fourteen to fifteen hours a day for weeks at a time, with no resultant physical ill effects."

Like pulmonary tuberculosis or consumption of the lungs, albuminuria or Bright's disease is considered by the medical profession as not only organic but incurable. If the patient whose detailed story, sent to us under date of January 8th from Los Angeles, California, and given below, had applied for relief to the Emanuel Church in Boston or to any of the various other experiment stations where attempts are being made to harness medicine and religion, she would have been refused treatment, because the attending physician had pronounced her to be suffering from albuminuria. The progress of this disease, it will be observed from Mrs. Hebbard's report, had been attended by nervous break-down accompanied by such acute pain that the patient was driven to morphine for relief, with the dread result that the morphine habit became fixed. Here we have four serious conditions: albuminuria, nervous prostration or nervous and mental break-down, neuralgia, and the morphine habit. The almost instantaneous cure of the drug habit is certainly worthy of notice, as it is usually considered one of the most difficult things that doctors have to contend with. The following testimony is given by Mrs. Josephine A. Hebbard, of Los Angeles, California:

"I turned to Christian Science, hoping to be healed of the drug habit. Through a very severe and chronic case of kidney trouble, which the attending physicians had called albuminuria, and from which I had suffered for over eight years, neuralgia had been superinduced, and I could only find relief in morphine. I became addicted to the use of this drug in very large doses, and in fact became so dependent on it that I could not do without it. I had been treated by a number of our best medical men for this kidney trouble, but grew worse



instead of better. I also had a number of attacks of nervous prostration and declared by an eminent nerve specialist (Dr. Brainerd) to be one of the most typical cases he had seen. I seldom ate anything but raw eggs and milk. At the time I turned to Christian Science I weighed only ninety-seven pounds and was a mental and physical wreck. One treatment in Science cured me of all desire for drugs and in three weeks I was a well woman. I gained twenty-nine pounds in twenty-eight days, and in less than three months after I had commenced treatment I had gained forty-three pounds. I have had my urine examined by two different physicians since then and the result was, a healthy and normal condition was found and no trace of any kidney trouble. I have written certificates from three physicians, each testifying to the firm belief that I was healed from an apparently hopeless condition through the application of Christian Science.

"I will here supply the physicians' names who have treated me: Doctors H. G. Brainerd, D. C. Barber, George L. Cole, D. W. Edelman, J. C. Ferbert, Merritt S. Hitt, Thaddeus Johnson, Charles Taggart, and O. O. Witherbee. The physicians writing the certificates are Doctors Hitt, Ferbert and Barber, and the papers are in the hands of Mr. Frank Gale of the Christian Science Publication Committee of San Francisco."

The following report, received since we commenced writing this paper, is from the pen of Mrs. D. W. King, of Newark, Vermont. It has an important bearing on the special points considered in this paper, because here it can not be claimed that the diagnosis was superficial or faulty, the patient having been operated upon and her hip bone scraped, by reputable physicians; and it is not a disease in which it will be claimed by physicians and hypnotists of standing in the scientific world, that hypnotic suggestion could be hoped to effect a cure.

"Six years ago I was afflicted with tuberculosis of the hip, and in August of that year went to the hospital at Hanover, New Hampshire, and underwent an operation in which the sore was opened and the bone scraped. I received the best surgical attention as well as kindest care of nurses but failed to obtain relief, and the following spring the hip was much worse and the discharge increased. The next summer I had a severe stomach and bowel trouble and for many weeks was not expected to recover. At that time I was attended by Dr. W. R. Noyes of West Burke, Vermont,—now removed to Brattleboro. I could take no solid food, even a few spoonfuls of broth causing great distress. The condition of the hip grew much worse, with constant discharge. I could walk only as I used two crutches, moving but an inch at a time and with much pain.

"At last my father urged me to go to St. Johnsbury, Vermont, and stay with relatives where I could be treated by Dr. Walter Aldrich of that place, a physician of reputation. He, however, gave my father no hopes of my recovery, as I was too weak to have another operation for the hip. When I begged him to do something for my stomach he only shook his head and said there was no help for that condition, as the sores poisoned my whole system.

"My aunt, with whom I was staying, was a Christian Scientist and when she saw my hopelessness and despair at leaving my husband and three little children, for death seemed inevitable, she began to tell me of Christian Science; how it had healed thousands of hopeless ones. She read the text-book, *Science and Health*, to me and explained its teachings to me, and I forgot all about the pain and distress in my stomach and at the end of the afternoon remarked that I had not had it and was really hungry. She told me to eat what I wanted for supper and I did so, among other things cheese and pickles. I slept

soundly that night, something I had not done for two years, and from that time have had no trouble with my stomach, being able to eat anything I wish. I returned to my home and commenced the study of *Science and Health* with an eagerness I had never felt for anything before. I had treatment by a Christian Science practitioner. At the end of one week the hip had begun to heal; in a month the pain had entirely ceased, and at the end of thirteen months the sores had all healed and I have had no trouble from the limb since, being able to do all my work for a family of five."

We now invite the readers' attention to a very detailed statement of a most remarkable case, given by E. A. Crane, a well-known lawyer of Kalamazoo, Michigan. Mr. Crane's report is very long, but the case is so striking in character that we feel it important to give the entire statement, excepting Mr. Crane's presentation of the Christian Science philosophy as presented to him by the practitioner through whom he was healed. This, though interesting, is not of evidential value in the present discussion, and for want of space is omitted.

"I was born in A. D. 1844 at Paw Paw, in this state. Lived on a farm till grown up, and was naturally of a husky, healthy make-up. At the siege of Atlanta, during the Civil War, in which I served three years in the cavalry, we were dismounted and put in the trenches to support our cannon which was throwing about 300 shells a minute at times. The terrible concussion fairly shook the earth and was very enervating. We often in a lull would fall asleep and be suddenly shaken by the renewing of the firing. The result was that very many of the soldiers lost their hearing, I with the rest; but gradually the hearing of my right ear returned so it was fairly good, but to my left ear it never did return till the event hereinafter stated. My condition in that respect was such for about forty years that it was necessary

always to sit or walk on the left side of those with whom conversation was to be had, and, in company with several, to always turn my head to catch the sounds with my right ear. After the war Dr. N. W. Abbott, then a prominent practicing physician in Chicago (now deceased) examined my ear and took me to a leading aurist practicing in Chicago (cannot recall his name) who examined me, and he said something was paralyzed (some part of the ear) and that nothing could be done for it; and nothing further was attempted.

"I have been a practicing lawyer since A. D. 1873, and have enjoyed good average health. In the fall of 1899 my eyelids gave me some annoyance with an itching sensation, which was relieved from time to time by the use of a little salt water, till the evening of the 23rd day of December of that year I called on an oculist practicing here (a graduate from that department of the Michigan University) and asked him to tell me what caused the itching sensation. He turned back each lid and applied something that caused a burning sensation and which I afterwards learned was nitrate of silver in solid stick, and which if used at all should have been diluted several times and there should have been some preparation put on the eyeballs to protect them from possibility of injury by unspent portions of the poison, neither of which precautions were taken; and the result was that when the lids turned back onto the eyes there was enough of the poison to destroy the tops of the eyeballs. Nothing could stop it till its force was spent and furrows burned into the eyeballs till, as the doctors advised me, it had destroyed the structural part of the eyeballs. My suffering was intense and indescribable. The tops of my eyes sloughed off, and from what others tell me, what was left looked more like pieces of raw beef than like human eyes. My health and strength went with my eyes, till in about three months I could not walk; but in time the in-

inflammation went down and physical suffering ceased. I found myself then with one eye destroyed. The outer coating, when I first saw it, hardly had the semblance of an eye. The color was between a white and yellow-white. The right eye had some color, but no luster; but part of the cornea showed and I could see sufficiently to keep on the walks; could see people near me but could not discern one from another till the time hereinafter referred to.

"I prefer not to give the name of the doctor or oculist who made the mistake, unless some controversy arises that seems to make it necessary. He is practicing here. I have forgiven him and wish the mantle of charity used for his good.

"The same evening I was injured I called Dr. O. A. La Crone, an oculist of good standing here, and he had local charge of my case as long as it was in care of doctors at all. He called to see me every day for many weeks and encouraged me to think at first that my sight would return when the inflammation was gone. A small part of the time I was in a hospital here kept by a Dr. Clark who is still here and who I am sure examined my eyes, as I think several other local doctors did, among them Dr. Edward Ames, Dr. H. B. Osborn, Dr. A. N. Crane, Dr. Edwards and others. I think the principal doctors here examined them, because when Dr. La Crone came to treat me he had others with him. They did not talk. I could not see them, but could hear them.

"On the fifth of May, 1900, four months after I was hurt, I went to Ann Arbor, Michigan, to consult with Dr. Carew, then the leader of that department in the Michigan University. He called in another member of the faculty, and from what I overheard between them no encouragement was offered. From these doctors and several others I was given to understand that my left eye was destroyed and that nothing could be expected from that source. However, I then went under Dr. Carew's care, also

retaining Dr. La Crone. Their treatment was the same, but there was no improvement. On the 29th of May I went to St. Louis, Missouri, to see a noted oculist, whose name I have forgotten; but he gave me no encouragement. So I returned to Chicago and was examined by a couple of specialists there; have forgotten their names but could get them if necessary. They decided that nothing could be done for the left eye and that there was but one chance to improve the right eye, which was by a surgical operation which they thought might keep it.

"I continued treatment with Dr. Carew and Dr. La Crone till July 16, 1900. About July first, at request of friends, I consulted a Christian Science practitioner here (now in Paris, France). She gave me encouragement but would not take my case unless I would give up the doctors, and so advised me not to give them up as long as I had any faith that they might help me.

"About the tenth of July I wrote Dr. Carew of Ann Arbor, that there was no improvement going on in my case and had not been, and asked if he could not change remedies to help me. He replied that he could not. He did not know anything better to recommend, and then said that he considered it his duty to advise me that he considered mine a very serious case. This statement, with what I had heard from others, convinced me that there was no hope; that I was to be blind; and the doctors, after doing the best they could, had decided to let me know the worst.

"I then went to see the Christian Science practitioner and engaged her to take my case. This was July 16th.

"About the third meeting with the practitioner she noticed that I was hard of hearing, as I turned my head when she spoke to me, and the cause of the loss of hearing was then explained to her; but I requested that she not try to help my hearing, as it might divide her powers, all of which I felt necessary to improving

sight; but she replied that I must be every whit whole."

After explaining the treatment in detail, Mr. Crane continues:

"The settled, fixed idea that there was no help commenced to yield. I commenced improving physically and mentally, and in about ten days suddenly my hearing returned clear as a bell,—much better than from the other ear. I now use the 'phone receiver at the injured ear altogether.

"There was no material improvement in sight till August 17th, when suddenly my sight returned. I picked up a common newspaper and read out loud a whole column, and that without glasses, whereas I had used glasses for fifteen years. I then used to read evenings to amuse my family.

"August 23rd I tested my ability to see with and without glasses, and found that I could see to read without them better than with them, and made a note of the fact in my diary. Glasses were discarded entirely for a time, and till curiosity led me to view myself in a glass. The sight of my eyes so frightened me as to necessitate the return to glasses. One eye was practically blank, while the other had some color but no luster or life. That experiment cost me much anxiety and set me back years which it has taken to overcome the fright and loss of faith. While I understand why it was so, it's not easy to explain so others may see the logic. Since then I have used glasses the same as before the injury, unless I forget them, as I sometimes do, and find myself reading and writing as well without them as with them; but as my attention is called to the fact that my glasses are not on, my sight is affected and it becomes necessary to put them on. My sight now averages as good or better than before the injury. With the left eye, that was supposed to be entirely destroyed and which all the doctors seemed to agree could never be used, I can now read coarse print without glasses.

"Dr. La Crone is now deceased, but the other doctors referred to as well as Dr. W. F. Hoyt of Paw Paw and Dr. Frank Young of South Haven, and no doubt others, could be cited who examined my eyes, and you are at liberty to refer to any of them. They may not concede the cure to be the result of mental treatment and understanding, but they are all conscientious, able practitioners in their line. They are all friends of mine in this sense. They know me generally; they know of my injury; and they know that I claim to have been cured by Christian Science principles; and they, or some of them, often talk with me about it. I give as general references almost any business man in south-western Michigan, where my life has been an open book.

"This letter is much longer than necessary for ordinary purposes, but I have refrained from permitting the facts to be published because so many errors usually creep into such communications. The above statements are easily proven by responsible, conscientious people of good standing; and if something may be gleaned from the mass that will be helpful to others, I shall be pleased to know it."

In investigating Christian Science cures we have been astonished to find the great number of artists, sculptors, authors, as well as lawyers, who have become interested in Christian Science through having been cured after physicians of eminence have signally failed to give relief.

In a previous issue of *THE ARENA* we gave at length the report of the remarkable cure of Mr. Charles Klein, probably America's most eminent living playwright. In Mr. Klein's statement of his cure, it will be remembered that he described how he had been brought to a condition of "incipient melancholia," in which he "took a saddening pleasure, a morbid interest in thinking of the joy of oblivion. Life had completely lost its interest." Prior to this condition,



Mr. Klein states that he had suffered for years from liver and kidney troubles, insomnia, nervous irritability, and a constant dread of something impending. He had consulted and acted on the advice and treatment of physicians, specialists and alienists, but all to no profit. In fact, his condition grew steadily worse. At this stage he was induced to try Christian Science treatment, with the result, to use his own words, that: "I gradually, indeed almost immediately, recovered my health, my peace of mind, professional and financial success, and happiness far beyond my wildest dream, and I have never taken a drug nor consulted a physician since that hour. Under Christian Science treatment all traces of kidney disease disappeared. I suffered no more from insomnia. I lost my desire for alcoholic stimulants, and stomach troubles which I had from boyhood, dyspepsia, nervous irritability, heart, gastric and bowel ailments, all left me by degrees; I had no more of those awful fits of depression, and my whole life was changed."

A few weeks ago, on the occasion of the successful presentation in Boston of Mr. Klein's latest play, "The Third Degree," the playwright called at our office. He was the picture of health and naturally enough enthusiastic in praise of Christian Science as the means by which he had passed from darkness into light.

One of the latest remarkable cures that has been effected among our leading artists and illustrators, is that of Mr. Howard Chandler Christy, one of the most famous illustrators of the day. In a personal letter to us, written under date of November 15, 1908, Mr. Christy thus speaks at length of his remarkable restoration after a well-known New York physician had declared that he would lose his eyesight within three months.

"The trouble with my eyes," says Mr. Christy, "began several years ago, before I had even taken so much as one drink of alcohol, and was just beginning

to use tobacco. My eyes were examined by Dr. Reese and another doctor whose name I have forgotten and whose office is in the Arcade Building, Fifth Avenue. Now both these doctors gave me good advice which I followed until I saw it did not help my eyesight. They both gave me little hope. Then Dr. E. E. Tull said I would be totally blind in three months' time. Then I tried William Muldoon for one month; no drink and no smoking. I became strong in body, but it did not help my eyes. Then I tried boxing an hour a day for six weeks at a time. Thinking that a healthy body would make healthy eyes, I tried heavy weight and middle weight prize fighters. My body was healthy enough, but my eyes did not improve. My sight became so bad that I could read only the headlines of a daily newspaper; and about seven months ago (on a Monday noon) I was treated by a Christian Science practitioner. I had been very sick and my health was gone.

The first thing I noticed after the first treatment was the change in my eyes. Everything began to clear up. I went out for a long walk, bought seats for the theatre, sat down and found no difficulty in reading the preface to *Science and Health* and several pages besides. Went to the theatre that night. The next day arranged to go to work, and Wednesday morning I *did* go to work and did the frontispiece for *The Spitfire*. Then I began the illustrations for James Whitcomb Riley's *Home Agin With Ma*,—forty-two drawings in all; then six larger illustrations in color for Mrs. Wilson Woodrow's novel, *The Silver Butterfly*. I have missed but one day's work since that Wednesday morning I began the first drawings, which was practically the first work I had attempted for one year and a half. My eyesight was entirely restored in two weeks' time and I have been perfectly healthy, with the exception of about three day's time, since that first treatment. I was almost instantly healed

of a very bad case of grippe and lost only about an hour's time,—just long enough to go down town and be treated. Then came back and went to work.

"If these facts can be used to help others I am only too glad to have you use them. I certainly would like to do something to show my appreciation for what God has done for me through Christian Science."

Here we have a volume of testimony, some of it is given under oath, where the patients knew they would be subjected to rigid cross examination; and in all instances the reports bear evidence of conscientious and intelligent purpose to give not only a full and truthful report, but a circumstantial report calculated to appeal to the reason of all intelligent, thoughtful and unbiased persons. In many instances not only are the records of the most intimate and circumstantial character, but the names of the various physicians who have examined and treated the patients, and the reports of their diagnosis are set down, together with the accounts of the steady progress of the diseases under conscientious medical treatment and the rapid cure of the same disorders under Christian Science. And yet we have only taken a few cases from a great number of similar testimonials in our possession,—cases that may be cited as fairly typical of a vast volume of similar cures.

#### IV.

This brings us to the consideration of the latest and most popular explanation advanced by physicians and other critics of Christian Science to account for remarkable cures that have been effected under this treatment. Some ministers no less than physicians are insistent in their claim that Christian Science cures are due wholly to suggestion. Their position in this respect is clearly set forth in the following words taken from an article by Professor Willett, a prominent minister, in *The Christian Century*

for January 9, 1909. In answer to some queries in regard to Christian Science, Professor Willett among other things says:

"The principle which Christian Science employs is the simple one of suggestion. This is the basis of every form of mental therapeutics practiced to-day—It is a satisfaction to record the undeniable fact that Christian Science, like the other forms of mental healing, has wrought great good to many sufferers. People whom other forms of treatment left without hope have been quickened into new health and happiness by the practice. This result is quite independent of the theory of Christian Science, and would be the same under any other of the forms of suggestive therapeutics. Many people are only mentally sick anyway. That is, they are impressed with the belief that they are actually suffering from some malady over which medicine is powerless to work healing. In thousands of cases, even of acute physical suffering, these maladies have been shown to be purely mental and imaginary—In all these cases it is the central principle of suggestion, whether employed in hypnotism, suggestion proper, or what is known as re-education. Christian Science is merely one of the forms of healing which make use, some of them unconsciously, of this fact."

The above opinion admirably summarizes the attitude of those who rely upon this most popular of all present-day explanations of Christian Science cures. It may be characterized as the latest sheet-anchor of those who are forced to recognize the healing results attending Christian Science practice. These critics are most insistent in their declaration that wherever actual cures have been made, they are the result of suggestion essentially similar in character to that employed in hypnotism, though the results are obtained without the use of hypnosis.

We have during the past twenty years devoted considerable time to the

study of the literature of hypnotism—the writings and the recorded experiences of the master psychologists and physicians of Continental Europe, England and America, who have made exhaustive studies and extensive practice of hypnotic suggestion and who are justly entitled to be regarded as authorities in this department of experimental science; and we do not call to mind a single instance where one of these men, even among the most enthusiastic and ardent upholders of hypnotism as a therapeutic agent, ever claimed that any clearly-defined organic disease of the character, for example, of blastomycosis, tuberculosis of the hip joints, tuberculosis of the lungs, Bright's disease, etc., could be cured by suggestion. We have talked at length with eminent regular physicians who have made a special study of hypnotism and who have great faith in its therapeutic value in certain cases, but in every instance they insisted that its value lay in the treatment of functional diseases; that it could not be hoped to effect a cure in any well-defined case of organic disease. In no instance have we found a reputable physician, no matter how enthusiastic he was in his belief in the value of hypnotism, who believed it could cure cases where the vital organs had been assailed and where physical disintegration had set in; and they all agreed with the eminent and authoritative writers, that the province of suggestion was restricted to functional disorders. The regular medical profession and European savants whose opinions are recognized as authoritative by the profession, are we believe, a unit in the maintenance of this position.

With this fact in mind, let us turn to the consideration of the subject in hand. Here we are in the presence of cures of diseases which in the opinion of high medical authority and according to the microscope and other scientific tests are unquestionably organic diseases—diseases which are considered incurable in their advanced stages, and yet which

have been entirely cured by Christian Science, and the patients have for years been in the enjoyment of perfect health after years of invalidism of the most distressing and hopeless character.

Since the medical profession does not claim that hypnotism can cure such organic diseases as blastomycosis, tuberculosis of the hip joints, consumption of the lungs, etc., one such case which has been so competently diagnosed as to leave no doubt as to the real character of the trouble, which has been cured by Christian Science treatment, causes the explanation of suggestion as the rationale of the cure necessarily to fall to the ground.

With the recognition of this fact, let the reader return to the history of Mrs. Oliver's case as given by the *Journal of the American Medical Association*, and the cure as reported by Mr. Oliver. Then let him read the cures given by Doctors Wilding and Burton, referred to in this paper but given in detail in the November *ARENA*; after which let him peruse the circumstantial testimony of Mr. J. J. Petermichel, Mrs. Josephine A. Hebbard, Mrs. D. W. King, Mrs. Lila Young, and Mr. E. A. Crane, as given in this paper. These cases render entirely inadequate the explanation that in suggestion, such as practiced by the master hypnotists, is to be found the rationale of the cures of Christian Science.

v.

We have now noticed the three master claims advanced by the medical profession and other critics of Christian Science to explain the alleged cures of organic diseases and afflictions pronounced incurable or which physicians had long faithfully but unsuccessfully treated. We have seen that if medical diagnosis is of any value, organic disease has been cured by Christian Science; that none of the greatest authorities on hypnotism would venture to claim that many of the diseases that have been restored under Christian Science treatment could be cured by hypnotic

suggestion; and we submit also that the character of the testimony given is such as to thoroughly discredit the claim of incompetency on the part of those giving the evidence. Surely the facts here given—though they are only a small part of the volume of evidence which we hold and but for want of space would have given—are sufficient to challenge the thoughtful consideration of all earnest and high-minded lovers of the truth. If human testimony is worth anything, these cases, representative as they are of a vast army of men and women who have been in the same manner restored to health, prove that Christian Science is to-day doing a work for the restoration of the sick which medical science and other means of relief have signally failed to accomplish.

And yet, that which to us is the most profoundly significant feature of Christian Science practice has not been touched upon, as it does not come within the scope of this paper. We refer to its

influence in awakening the spiritual side of life or moral idealism in its adherents, developing character and affording moral supremacy over the dominion of passion, appetite and physical desire. And it is a notable fact that in almost every report of cure which we have received, the spiritual awakening which has brought the patient from the bondage of sense dominion to moral mastery is given precedence as the crowning result that has followed this treatment. That Christian Science arouses moral idealism in those who come in a vital way under its influence is abundantly proved by the life and testimony of thousands of thoughtful people; and in an age like the present, when the materialism of the market has laid so firm a hand on church, state, school and press, nothing is more urgently demanded than the spiritual enthusiasm that is born of moral idealism.

B. O. FLOWER.

*Boston, Mass.*

## THE EVOLUTION OF THE FOURTH ESTATE.

BY RICHARD A. HASTE.

**D**URING the formation of that most intangible of all important things, the British Constitution, the Lords, the Clergy and the Commons were the three pillars that were supposed to sustain the structure of English liberty. They were known as the three estates. Here was a trinity second only to that of the Godhead. Combined they constituted Parliament—and Parliament was omnipotent.

The Lords and the Clergy, having mutual interests, sat together, but the Commons sat apart as was seemly for Commons.

As time wore on jealousies sprang up among these estates over their respective prerogatives and powers. Thus it came

about that Edmund Burke in the House of Commons, commenting on the comparative influence of the three estates, admonished his hearers not to overlook the Fourth Estate—the Press—represented in the reporters' gallery.

And so it came about that the Press was known and recognized as the Fourth Estate, not by the constitution nor by any law of the land, for it had no place in the machinery of government—its members had no seats in Parliament and no votes; they did not answer to roll-call nor take part in the divisions, but they made and unmade ministries.

From the time of the inception of the printing press, through the age of pam-



phleteering to the present—the newspaper age—the evolution of the Fourth Estate in England has been uninterrupted along the lines of social and political progress. Its increased power has been gained at the expense of the Clergy and the Lords. The aristocracy of the church and the aristocracy of birth have had to make room for the aristocracy of brains. For more than a century the Fourth Estate has been the medium through which the intelligence of the British empire has spoken—the forum where economical and national matters have been freely discussed for the benefit of the people. Here the press has retained its influence because, right or wrong, it has stood for something vital, and the Fourth Estate still represented by the daily press exerts its pristine power. Not so in the United States. The course of evolution has been checked and diverted from its original channel. The daily newspapers no longer represent the Fourth Estate. This fact, as well as the reasons therefor, are well worth noting.

We of America inherited our dominant tastes and tendencies from England. We inherited, willingly or otherwise, the principles of British government and, to a large extent, the common law. It is true that in the formation of our national government we did not recognize the Clergy as a governmental unit, but we did honor the House of Lords by the creation of a senate to represent the aristocracy of states, and which by a natural evolution has become the representative of the aristocracy of wealth.

The Fourth Estate we inherited entire. As in England it was not recognized in the scheme of government, but nevertheless it had much to do with determining the scheme of government. Here in America during the formative period, the Press was the guiding power—it was the dominant estate. The men who reached the ear of the public through the press were the real leaders of opinion.

Ben Franklin was the first notable representative of the Fourth Estate in the

new-born American commonwealth—the first great newspaper editor. He represented as no one had before and as few have since, the aristocracy of brains. He had opinions to express, and he expressed them. He put his personality into the discussion of public questions. It was Franklin speaking and not a mere machine, and therein lies the whole secret. He has had some worthy successors during the last century—real men, editors whose personalities dominated their papers and gave the Fourth Estate in America its moral as well as its political power; but to-day that race is well-nigh extinct. The great editor—the leader of public thought—has been pushed from his throne, and in his place sits a nameless thing, opinionless and usually money-mad, a sightless, soulless corporation—a *publishing company*.

#### THE PASSING OF THE EDITOR.

It was near the middle of the century just past that the Fourth Estate in America reached high tide as a factor in the problems of government and as a moulder of public opinion. The editorial page was then the heart and brains of the paper. Here it was that the editor discussed fearlessly the moral and political questions of the day with no thought of the effect his position might have on the business department of the publication. The editors of the then great newspapers were known by name, not only to the American people, but also over seas. They were men of culture, of brains, of experience, and, above all, of character. They were leaders whom the people delighted to follow. They were public characters with reputations to sustain. They were responsible to the world, and they knew and felt their responsibility.

It was not the New York *Tribune* that was speaking—it was Horace Greeley. Back of those printed words were always the white coat, the child-like face, the great brain, and the wonderful personality of the editor. It was not the New York *Sun*, but the opinions of Charles A. Dana,

that had weight. It was not the Chicago *Times*, but Wilbur F. Story, and so on through the Fourth Estate of the last century.

It was the personality of the men behind the headlines that gave weight to the metropolitan press of those days. People read what these men had to say even though they differed widely from the opinions expressed, because the utterances had the ring of personal conviction. But who to-day reads the editorials of the average metropolitan papers? Who cares for the opinions of an unknown hireling of a corporation on matters of ethics or public policy? Who cares to wade through inane and pointless comments on current news that now occupy the wide space of the editorial page?

In the development of American metropolitan newspapers—and by the word metropolitan we must include the papers of our smaller cities—the editors of the Greeley and Dana stamp have been entirely eliminated, because the first object of the modern American newspaper is to furnish news, the second to get advertising. As to the expression of opinions on public matters, there are to be none unless they dovetail perfectly with the financial interests that control the paper. The policy of the paper is shaped in the business office, not in the editorial room. And this is perfectly logical—the legitimate result of the evolution of the Fourth Estate in commercial America. The American newspaper of to-day is a business enterprise. The gathering and publishing of news, more or less doctored, is necessary to that business success. The circulation depends upon the news columns—therefore the news must be sensational—and the amount of advertising depends upon the circulation. The highest salaries, therefore, are paid to the business-getters and the news-fakers—the better the faker the better the salary. Anybody can write editorials—no one reads that page anyway. The editorial page is a form that is maintained out of respect to tradition, but it is re-

garded by most “newspaper men” as a useless expense—a waste of space that had better be given to advertising.

As a general rule the editorial page is turned over to the pensioners whose long service keeps them on the payrolls. It is amusing to observe the contempt which a cub reporter or an advertising solicitor entertains, and sometimes expresses, for the editorial writers. And it is not wholly undeserved, for if there is ever such a thing as mental prostitution, it is to be found on the editorial pages of American newspapers.

In twentieth-century newspaper parlance an editor is not a man who writes editorials or in any way shapes the policy or opinions of the paper, but the man (or boy) who “holds down a desk.” The term “editor,” like that of “doctor,” has been expanded until it has no significance. There are managing editors, city editors, telegraph editors, exchange editors, Sunday editors, night editors, society editors, sporting editors, beauty editors and contest editors, each with certain specific duties not connected in any way with the opinions of the publication—if it have any.

These various editors have their ideas of what the public wants and from these ideas the character of the paper takes its color. The Sunday editor of a metropolitan newspaper which advertises itself as “The world’s greatest newspaper” was asked why he published so much “hog wash” in his Sunday editions. His reply was pregnant with the spirit of modern journalism: “We are running a restaurant—if the people want soup, we give them soup.”

The editor of a certain Sunday magazine in returning some manuscripts, wrote the author in explanation: “The readers of this magazine want to be entertained and amused; we therefore cannot use any informative articles no matter what may be their literary merit or instructive value.”

The screaming headlines and the colored picture pages show to what lengths the newspaper will go to attract attention

—and like the stunts on the vaudeville stage they indicate the character of the average readers. Is it true that the people demand soup? From the apparent success of the press-restaurants which serve that dish exclusively, it would appear that "soup," however thin, is preferred to the best cuts of journalistic steak.

In theory the public press has two coördinate primary functions—the publishing of news and the moulding of public sentiment. It was the honest discharge of the latter function with its resultant influence, that elevated the press to the dignity of a fourth estate. And it was the subordination of both these primary functions to the business department, or their prostitution to selfish and illegitimate ends, that has shorn it of its high prerogatives and left it without influence among the thinking.

The rise of commercialism marked the beginning of the decline of the Fourth Estate in the United States. Corporations and individuals, for that matter, desiring special privileges needed special legislation, and it was soon discovered that it is cheaper to buy newspapers and through them control legislation, than to buy legislators direct. Besides, newspapers when once bought stayed bought. It is not an uncommon thing for a great industrial or transportation corporation to own outright, either directly or indirectly, a dozen big newspapers and control a hundred others. The Hill roads, for instance, have a string of papers from St. Paul to Puget Sound. And the very telegraphic news that appears in nine-tenths of the daily papers in the United States is controlled absolutely by a well-known trust that openly defies the laws, while the man at its head with his ill-gotten millions founds universities. To what extent this news is colored is difficult to determine. I have no doubt that in all matters affecting the Standard Oil or its allied interests the news bears the taint of its origin. The writer for a number of years was the "editor" (?) (the interrogation is mine) of a certain well-known

metropolitan daily the policy of which was determined in the office of a railway magnate, while the detailed instructions as to editorial expression came from his private secretary.

Such is the condition of the Fourth Estate. From the country weekly to the city daily we find few free moral agents. Those that are not owned, stock and bonds, body and soul, by corporations with interests to protect, are rendered nerveless and opinionless by the fear of losing their advertising patronage. If the *System* cannot reach the owner of the paper directly—if he be proof against its moral suasion it can reach the advertiser; and under our modern methods no matter how independent a publication may be it has one vulnerable point—the business office.

During the fight recently made by the railroads against national legislative control, the Fourth Estate became the battleground. A large sum of money, estimated at not less than \$2,000,000, was raised for the campaign by a pool of the railway interests. One-quarter of this fund was expended in an effort to influence the public through the country press. Over a million copies of a "Magazine Section" were sent out weekly to all who would use them, free and with express paid. But the bulk of the work was done through a publicity bureau that "card-indexed" every editor and publisher of a paper in the United States. If he yielded to gentle influence all right—he was sent proper copy to use, but if he was incorrigible or stiff-necked, his record was looked up, and if weak spots were found in his personal or financial armor he was promptly put on the rack.

The result of this campaign demonstrated the weakness of the Fourth Estate as a factor in moulding public opinion—the people repose little or no confidence in the opinions of the average newspaper.

This characterization of the press must not be considered as universal. There are a few great newspapers that are still

true to the best traditions of the Fourth Estate—but they are not money-makers and it requires money to run a great newspaper. Unless a reaction toward sane and honest journalism sets in soon, they, too, will be compelled to join the great majority.

This evolutionary struggle for survival within the Fourth Estate has brought forth a new type of journalism, the type represented by the Pulitzer and Hearst papers. Here we have the vilest of yellow journalism coupled with fearless editorial expression; news columns filled with the most sensational claptrap side by side with editorials expressing the loftiest public sentiment. The excuse offered for this unholy marriage of virtue and vice is that the times demand it—that the sensation is necessary to secure the circulation—and circulation is essential to a hearing—the masses must be reached if they are to be influenced.

Mr. Pulitzer himself is said to prefer the New York *Evening Post* to all other American newspapers. When asked why he did not publish such a paper he replied, "I want to talk to a nation, not to a select committee."

The decline of the newspaper as a guiding force left the great field of the Fourth Estate open to the magazines. These publications which for many years had been regarded as means of recreation only at once came to the front as forums for the discussion of grave public questions. Men with something to say could, through these media, reach the public without running foul of the business office. Here crimes could be exposed—great crimes as well as crimes of the great. A few magazine publishers with their ear to the ground heard the rumble of a coming storm, and boldly preempted the estate abandoned by the daily press. Their reward was great—the people hailed them as deliverers and their circulation and their revenue grew apace. At last the high obligations of the Fourth

Estate were to be shouldered by the great national weeklies and the militant monthlies.

That was three years ago. The public is now much wiser regarding the methods of millionaires than it once was. A few of the mailed knights remain in the lists avowed champions of honest business, a square deal and clean government, but some of the foremost in the lists of three years ago seem to have grown weary of the contest. Have they been made to feel the pressure of the thumb-screw or has public approval been outbid by private interest? Why this silence and inactivity where there was once the shout of battle and the clash of arms? Is the magazine to go the way of the daily press? Is the Fourth Estate to sink again to the level of the American House of Lords? It has been demonstrated that a magazine may give the truth to the world and live. It must be expected, however, that any publication which challenges the existing order will feel the heavy hand of secret and persistent opposition. Publish to the world social or financial rottenness, and you are a "muckraker." But in this crisis the "muckraker" is as essential to our economic and moral sanitation as is the "drain-man."

This is not a preachment on the duties of the public press and its moral obligations to organized society; but the following observation is so axiomatic that it may not be out of place in this connection. Whenever a newspaper, posing as a member of the Fourth Estate, is run purely as a business proposition or as a special advocate, and in the chase after dollars or in its efforts to accomplish other ends, suppresses or garbles the news and devotes its editorial influence to selfish ends alone, it becomes a public menace, worse than a venal public servant—worse than a pirate on the high seas.

RICHARD A. HASTE.

*Chicago, Illinois.*



## A CITY'S STRUGGLE FOR POLITICAL AND MORAL FREEDOM.

BY HON. JOHN D. WORKS.

THE CITY of Los Angeles, California, is passing through a crisis in its history that should attract the attention of the whole country. The city has, for years, been under the control and domination of a strong and well-organized political machine which has been in turn controlled and dominated by the Southern Pacific Railroad Company. This was so well understood that many of the better class of citizens became indifferent to their duties as electors, failed to attend the caucuses and conventions of their respective political parties, and left the field of politics open to the pernicious influences and control of the machine. Party nominations, in the city as well as in the county and state, were made through caucuses for the selection of delegates to the nominating conventions, which were controlled absolutely, in almost all cases, by the political machine, directed by a political boss, which, of course, made the convention itself, made up of such delegates, wholly subservient to the influences that brought it into existence.

To make the situation worse, and further enable these manipulators of politics to manage the elections more conveniently and effectually, the charter of the city provided for the election of members of the city council by wards. The result of these conditions was that the city could not depend upon its representatives in the city council to protect its interests as against the Southern Pacific Company and other utility corporations having like interests with it to protect. Not only so but the interests through which untrustworthy men were made public officers did not themselves trust them, and must protect themselves not only by electing them

to office, but by keeping them under subjection by intimidation or hope of further reward. The outcome of this condition of things was inevitable and actually came to pass. The municipal government became venal and corrupt, and the management of the affairs of the city extravagant and burdensome.

The first step for the emancipation of the city from this condition of thralldom took form in an effort to form a new charter for its government. A commission of fifteen citizens and electors was chosen from the various civic bodies of the city supposed to represent all interests in business, and different shades of belief as to the best form of municipal government, to draft a new charter. The writer was a member of that commission, representing the Chamber of Commerce, one of the largest, most active and representative civic bodies of this or any other city. In order to make any charter that might be agreed upon efficient, it was necessary under the constitution of California that fifteen freeholders of the city be elected by the people to act upon it, for which purpose an election must be called by the city council. It was soon known that the commission at work upon the charter had agreed upon two changes that would go far to destroy the power of the political machine. One of these was a provision for the election of councilmen-at-large, instead of by wards, the other a provision for the nomination of all candidates for city offices at a primary nominating election, the candidates to be placed on the ticket to be voted at the nominating election on the petition of any one hundred electors of the city, and their names placed on the ticket in alphabetical order, and without any party designation.

This was enough to condemn the proposed charter in the estimation of a majority of the city council, who could never hope to be reelected by the electors of the city at large, and, consequently, that body refused to call the necessary election to put the new charter in force. But the better citizens were not to be balked of their purpose to rid the city of the rule of the railroad machine. Through the Municipal League, whose purpose is to protect the city from misrule, the initiative was inaugurated to compel the calling of an election to vote directly upon these two measures, and others, as amendments to the existing charter of the city. The necessary signatures to the initiative petition were quickly procured and the city council compelled thereby to call the election. That election has just been held. It was a clean-cut issue between the decent and law-abiding citizens and the forces of evil. The result was a complete and decisive victory for the better element in the city, both the amendments being adopted by handsome majorities.

In the meantime another issue had been made up and must yet be settled at the polls. It was discovered that the mayor of the city, and the police commission, of which he is ex-officio a member, had been protecting vice and violators of the law. The fact was exposed in two of the leading newspapers of the city that the mayor and some of his appointees on the police commission had formed a number of corporations and sold the stock of the companies to saloon-keepers, keepers of assignation houses and other places of vice, whereby its officials, whose duty it was to protect the city from these keepers of dens of vice, had become their associates in business. The result was that vice, in its various forms, was flaunting itself everywhere, mostly without molestation or fear of the enforcement of the law against its perpetrators. The mayor was also charged with the appointment of unfit men to office supposed to be

in fulfilment of election pledges made to secure his own election.

There was but one course open to a self-respecting people. The charter of the city provides for the recall of an unfaithful officer as well as for the initiative. The Municipal League again responded to the call to duty. It called a mass meeting of over five hundred of the representative people of the city to consider the question of instituting recall proceedings against the mayor. The meeting was a large one and the situation was fully discussed. The outcome was a resolution instructing the League to commence proceedings to recall the mayor adopted with only five or six dissenting votes. The demand for the mayor's recall, and the purging of the present administration of the evil influences that have brought it so low, was spontaneous, outspoken and overwhelming. People did not wait for the recall petition to be presented to them for signature. They hunted it up.

At this writing the success of the movement is well assured and the city of Los Angeles is about to furnish to the world an example of civic virtue and independence well worthy of emulation. Its people have had before them the appalling experience of our sister city, San Francisco, and have not waited until it is too late. As usual, the cry has been raised that the city would be injured by exposing this unfortunate condition. But good citizens are not disposed to cover up the corruption that pollutes the city. No city can be injured by the exposure and removal of a corrupt or unfaithful officer, and, if it could, it would furnish no just excuse for compromising with evil.

The adoption of the amendments to the charter, above mentioned, was the beginning of the emancipation of the city from bondage to the political machine, and official corruption. The successful enforcement of the recall against an officer who has betrayed his trust will be a warning that will serve to prevent repe-

titions of the offense in the future.

In the beginning the writer did not look with favor on the initiative or the recall. They seemed revolutionary and unwise. The recall looked like a menace to the honest and fearless officer by placing in the hands of less than a majority of voters who disagreed with his sincere convictions of right and duty the power to recall him from office. But it is not likely that such proceedings will ever be taken unless the officer has clearly shown either his corruption or his incompetency, in either of which cases he should be forced to give way, if he does not do so voluntarily. It is still believed that the recall should be resorted to only in extreme cases where the cause for it is clearly established. But fortunate is the city that has the power of the initiative, referendum and recall when it falls into the hands of political corruptionists and unfaithful officials.

The criticism of the recall is made that it enables less than a majority of the electors to enforce it. But the officer cannot be deprived of his office by the mere filing of the recall petition. Its only effect is to call for a new election which enables the accused officer to prove himself as a candidate for reelection, an opportunity that an honest and faithful officer should court rather than shun. Under the recall provision of the charter of the city if the necessary petition is filed and the election called, the officer proceeded against is made one of the candidates without nomination and his name is placed on the ballot as, of course, unless he expressly declines to be a candidate. So he is treated with perfect fairness and consideration.

It so happens that in the present instance the mayor was elected by a mere plurality of votes, much less than a majority, and that the signers to the recall petition exceed in number the votes by which the mayor was elected to the office. Under these conditions he cannot justly complain that the number of petitioners necessary to put him to a second election is too small.

Los Angeles is rapidly taking the necessary steps to redeem itself and establish its moral and political freedom, as fully as may be done by a well-regulated city governed by honest, capable and efficient officers, and woe to the public servant that betrays his trust. The good people of the city now know their power to coerce their officers, and have shown that they have the courage to use it. It is a ray of light in this darkness of political and official corruption that should lead us on to better things: to a cleaner, better-regulated city with higher ideals of civic duty and virtue in its people. Let the good work go on until we have thrown the rascals out and keep them out. So will political and official corruption be overthrown and good municipal government established.

Since the above was written important events have followed each other in rapid succession in the City of Los Angeles. The mayor was recalled by the necessary petition of twenty-five per cent. of the electors of the city. A mass meeting of citizens selected a candidate to make the race against him, and the necessary petition for the nomination of the candidate selected was quickly procured. Under the charter the incumbent is made a candidate, without nomination, unless he declines to run. The grand jury, in session, investigated the mayor's official conduct and made a report exposing, in part, his misconduct as mayor, but failing to indict or bring specific charges against him. But the newspapers discovered the facts that forced him to resign the office and he, at the same time, refused to be a candidate for election under the recall proceedings.

An interview with him was published in one of the local papers, in which he declared that he was induced to resign by the political boss of Los Angeles who threatened to withdraw his support from him and who assured him that if he resigned the recall would be defeated, no election could be held, and the appoint-

ment of his successor for his full unexpired term would rest with the city council, a majority of which was supposed to be subservient to the political machine. On the other hand the friends of the recall maintained that the election must be held, notwithstanding his resignation, and any appointment made by the city council must terminate with the election, and the council was so advised by the city attorney. The scheme was to elect a machine man who would contest the election of the successful candidate at the recall election and prevent his taking the office. But the whole scheme failed. The people were so incensed, and the pressure upon the council was so strong, that the councilmen did not dare to carry it out, if they had ever intended to do so, and a worthy citizen, friendly to the recall was unanimously elected to fill the term until the election, under an express pledge to surrender the office to whomsoever might be elected. But the machine, nothing daunted, brought suit in court to enjoin the city officers from expending the money necessary to hold the election, hoping thus to defeat the holding of the election. But this attempt to prevent the people from selecting their own mayor met the same fate as the other. The suit was forced to an immediate hearing, and, three days before the time for holding the election, the court denied the injunction and held that the resignation of the recalled mayor did not take away from the people the right to elect his successor. In the meantime the Socialist party had regularly nominated a candidate, thus leaving the contest between him and the citizens' candidate. The only hope the machine and its allies had left, to defeat the recall candidate, was to combine and support the Socialist candidate. It was hard on the Socialists. They found themselves in very bad company. They were properly and rightly supporting their own candidate. He was a good citizen and there was but

one reason why the machine should support him. It was willing to stultify itself, in any and every way, to defeat and discredit its worst enemy, the recall. So the people, who were conscientiously endeavoring to support this great principle, found the liquor interest, the keepers of dens of vice, the gamblers and other criminals, and all the disreputable and indecent elements against them, combined with the Socialists and some of the labor unions and a few other good citizens who professed to be working against the recall on principle. None of these many conflicting elements were sincere in their opposition to the recall candidate except the Socialists, and the labor unionists who naturally affiliated with them because of their preference for the Socialist candidate.

It was a death struggle between the decent and law abiding element, and the grafters, saloon keepers and vicious elements of all kinds. And the recall candidate, standing on his own merits, and supported by the best elements in the city, defeated them all and was triumphantly elected. It was a great battle for good government and moral and political freedom and the result one of the most important ever achieved in this or any other city. It proved that, when they will, good citizens can control the elections, and that they can, if they do their duty as citizens, overcome the powers of evil in politics and retire the political boss from business.

This great achievement of this far western city, still in its infancy, should be an inspiration to other cities throughout the country and establish, once for all, the efficacy of the recall as a means of retiring unfaithful officers to private life, and as a terror to evildoers.

In this great struggle for better government two of the leading newspapers of the city, the Los Angeles Herald, and Evening Express, one a Democratic and the other a Republican paper, did yeoman service and deserve the commendation



of all good citizens. On the other hand the organization of both the Republican and Democratic parties were opposed to the interests of the people, and had for their support the *Times*, *Examiner* and *Record*, the first a Republican and the second a Democratic paper, and the last without any politics or other principles. The line between the law abiding respectable citizens, and the grafters, saloon men and machine politicians, with the horde of criminals and self-seekers that

they control, was sharply drawn and the newspapers took their choice of the company they would keep and will be judged accordingly. But the great thing is that the supporters of good government and the right of the people to control municipal affairs were successful against the combined forces of these enemies of good clean government.

JOHN D. WORKS.

*Los Angeles, California.*

# IN THE MIRROR OF THE PRESENT.

## THE SINISTER ASSAULT ON THE FREEDOM OF THE PRESS.

### Further Timely Warnings on The Despotism-Fostering Attempts to Throttle a Free Press.

**W**ILL it be necessary for the old battle, in which Eliot lost his life, and later Pym his ears, and Hampden both fortune and life, to be fought over again that the principles of free government, the rights of the people and the freedom of the press may be preserved from the aggressions of autocratic assumptions of power? This is the grave and serious question that has arisen in many minds since the almost incredible effort on the part of President Roosevelt to punish Mr. Pulitzer and crush the *New York World*.

Serious and disquieting as is this suit, considered merely as a specific attempt to resort to ancient and reactionary practices entirely out of accord with the principles and practices that have obtained during the greater portion of our national history, the question assumes infinitely more sinister aspects when it is viewed as a precedent which is sought to be established at a time when the handy-men of the feudalism of privileged wealth and the corrupt political bosses are so actively engaged in attempts to check and defeat all efforts to make our government truly representative or to secure to the people the blessings of pure and free government. Once establish the precedent and accept the contention which Mr. Roosevelt and his apologists advance, and the days of free government will be numbered, unless there be enough of the old American spirit to relight the torch of democracy.

It is indeed encouraging to note that a vast number of our stronger papers, Republican, Democratic and Independent alike, denounce this latest and most ominous action of President Roosevelt. Brave men also are coming to the front with strong words of protest and criticism.

So important is the question and so necessary is it that the friends of clean, progressive and free government should have on file, easily accessible, the opinions of representative thinkers and great journalists on the question, for use in case that in the future a similar attempt shall be made, that we have decided

to quote from several of the notable utterances that have been called forth by the President's instigation of governmental action against the *World*.

### Hon. Thomas E. Watson on The Effort to Shackle Free Government.

The Hon. Thomas E. Watson, the well-known author of an exceptionally able life of Napoleon Bonaparte, one of the best lives of Thomas Jefferson, and other important works, in writing the *New York World* under date of January 24th, says:

"When the British ministry in 1810 was resorting to suppressive measures to check the progress of democratic principles, a bill was introduced into Parliament to shackle the press. Against the ministerial policy Richard Brinsley Sheridan made an impassioned speech by which he thrilled the House. Said he, alluding to the reactionaries of that day:

"Give them a corrupt House of Lords; give them a venal House of Commons; give them a tyrannical prince; give them a truckling court, and let me but have an unfettered press, and I will defy them to encroach a hair's-breadth upon the liberties of England."

"The great Irish orator was right. No personal government, no divine-right military despotism, can exist and flourish where there is freedom of the press.

"Civilization rests upon liberty—liberty of person, of thought, of speech. To liberty of speech the freedom to print is a necessary adjunct. Without the one the other is incomplete. Restraint of freedom to print should go no further in principle than go those necessary restraints which the law places upon liberty of person and of conscience.

"With a censored press, Russian bureaucracy can perpetuate itself at a time when liberty is enlightening the world. With a censored press the Manchu dynasty can maintain itself in China. Neither in Russia nor China would despotism be possible were the press unfettered.

"Without the press Martin Luther could never have established the Reformation. Without it the glorious work of Rousseau, Vol-

taire and Diderot could never have been done. Without it the ancient régime could never have been overturned.

"When a Napoleon reaches the period when he can brook no opposition to his will he censors the newspapers, banishes Madam de Stael and shoots the bookseller Palm.

"When Bismarck grows too great to regard the will of the people he muzzles the press and makes lavish use of the 'reptile fund.' True as holy writ are the words of Sheridan.

"Despotism cannot flourish under the scorching light of an unfettered press. The letters of 'Junius' prove it; the success of Dean Swift proves it; the omnipotence of such books as *Uncle Tom's Cabin* proves it, and it was but a few months ago that we saw a weekly paper in Berlin shake the Kaiser's throne to its foundations.

"Because the Federalists in the days of Adams and Hamilton undertook to fetter the press, the Democracy, led by Jefferson, won control of the government and held it for half a century. The Sedition laws under which President John Adams cast editors into dungeons were not more undemocratic than the policy of repression which is now foreshadowed. It is the patriotic duty of men of all parties to resist any efforts to shackle the press."

#### Representative Newspapers on The Menace to Free Institutions.

The well-known Republican daily, the *New York Mail*, thus editorially comments on the early proceedings of the government in this case:

"Some assertion of governmental power to punish criticism is contemplated. *Some blow at the freedom of speech and of the press is meditated.* It is appropriate, and yet it is infinitely disquieting, that this is being done behind the scenes, in a darkness too profound for even the best lawyers in the Senate to penetrate it. *The environment of this action, its initial stages, suggest the court procedure of Russia before there was a Duma to give voice to public opinion;* suggest also the Star Chamber chapter of British history and the unhappiest chapters of royal aggression on the liberties of the English people.

"This connection is vital rather than fanciful. Unless the country, which has been kept in darkness, is mistaken, the action will be brought under an alleged authority which comes direct from the Star Chamber, was

embodied in the common law of Maryland and may never have been repealed in the laws of the District of Columbia, formerly a part of the state of Maryland. . . . What the *New York Tribune* said in 1895 is just as pertinent now:

"The law of criminal libel in the District of Columbia, then, is the law as it existed in England before the American Revolution. That law received its form from the infamous Court of Star Chamber, and was the most terrible of all engines for the suppression of a free press at the hands of arbitrary and tyrannical power. Under it any publication which tended to produce an ill-opinion of the administration of the government was a crime."

The *Milwaukee News*, the well-known independent daily, observes that:

"The threat to prosecute Pulitzer will not intimidate the publisher of the *New York World*. Yet it is a distinct assault by the Executive authority upon the liberty of the press. There are thousands of newspapers throughout the country that lack the resources of Mr. Pulitzer and which, even aware of their legal rights, are yet fearful of litigation. *Such a threat as uttered by Mr. Roosevelt is calculated to silence them as effectually as if the Executive had the power to muzzle or suppress them by Executive order.* . . .

"If Mr. Roosevelt's idea of libeling the government were enforceable in law, there could be no criticism of the acts of public officials, for to criticize Congress, the Executive or any of their agents would be to subject the critic to prosecution by the Federal government. It effectually would destroy liberty of press and speech and bring an end to popular government."

The *Boston Herald*, probably the most influential supporter of Mr. Taft in New England during the recent campaign, has the following to say:

"The fundamental issue in the controversy growing out of the *World's* criticism of Federal officials and of private citizens concerned in the Panama business is not whether the charges were warranted or unwarranted, or whether they can be sustained. It is not a question of relaxing or tightening the law of libel. *The gravity of the situation lies in this fact, that the American press faces not a Congressional enactment but an Executive decree intended to intimidate editors, and setting up the thesis that the Government can be libeled, a decree which, under the authority of obsolete and long-forgot-*

ten laws, can engage the judicial machinery of the Republic for the purpose of haling non-subservient, non-obsequious editors into court and punishing them because they had had the courage to utter their convictions. Since the President's message of December 15th first announced this newly-assumed power of 'the government,' and since the Attorney-General was instructed to find a law to fit the will of the Executive, there has been a perceptible waning of insistence on vigorous prosecution. Why? Possibly the revolt of the press of the country against this high-handed scheme has had something to do with the waning of 'the government's' zeal. For popularity with the press is not despised even by autocrats, oligarchies or the elected of the people. Possibly some legal advisers who know that liberty is founded upon law and not upon vindictiveness or impulse, whispered into an impatient ear in one of its listening intervals. At any rate, whatever the cause, it begins to appear as if there would not be frontal attack through Federal action, but a flank attack inspired from Washington but nominally on the free volition of individuals."

Mr. W. E. Haskell, the editor of this paper, in a personal letter to the *World*, further states:

"As the *Herald* has stated, we do not believe that the Federal government should have power to bring action for libel against the press.

"To give the government the right of action would mean a menace to the freedom of the press and of speech. With such a power recognized by the courts a dominant party would be in a position to throttle free speech at will and hold a powerful club over every editor who dared honestly express an opinion at variance with the wishes of the administration."

The *Springfield Republican*, the ablest edited daily paper in the United States, says:

"Think for a moment of what would follow the government's success in the pending prosecution on such grounds as have been indicated. If the prosecution is for libel of individuals, then Federal jurisdiction could be asserted over practically all libel cases, for few are the newspapers which do not circulate in some government reservation, and circulation there would constitute a commission of the offense there. And none are the newspapers which do not circulate in a government reservation if the post-office be regarded as such. Are the states of the Union thus to be divested of a

police power long recognized as belonging to them? Are the closing days of the Roosevelt administration to be marked by so high-handed and sweeping an aggression as this for the exaltation of the central government, and a personal government at that?

"This would be bad enough. But even worse will success in the prosecution be if the charge is a libel upon the government itself. Then indeed will the freedom of speech and of the press have been extinguished, and with that will go in time a people's government under the rise of arbitrary and personal power which, as Napoleon said, has more to fear in three newspapers than in a million bayonets. It is thinkable that Mr. Roosevelt should so act, but it is wholly unthinkable that any other power in the Federal government should support him."

The *Chicago Inter-Ocean*, one of the leading Republican dailies of America, says:

"The woes and wrongs of one man become unimportant when it is sought to create a new crime whose existence, if once established, would make of no account the constitutional guarantees of the liberty of the press and of the citizen.

"For it is plain to all that if the United States government were put in a position to throw the whole weight of its power against any newspaper which had happened to hurt the President's feelings by criticizing his relatives or censuring his conduct, that newspaper would be wiped out.

"One after another the newspapers could be reduced to silence at the will of any President, and the American press would have no more liberty than that of Russia.

"Any editor whose words the President disliked could be given the alternative of silence or the jail. *Lèse-majesté* in the United States would become a fact."

And the *San Francisco Chronicle*, the leading Republican daily of San Francisco, observes:

"If to say what is incorrect about the official conduct of public men is a sin, it must be acknowledged that the United States is a sinful country and this planet is a sinful world. There are countries in which it is held that the maligning of high officials is a public offense of exceeding gravity, but in those countries the crime is not called libel, but *lèse-majesté*. And if any crime has been committed against the 'Government' by the publication of these alleged wrong stories it is the crime called *lèse-majesté* in other parts of the civilized world. If



that crime has been recognized in the United States since the repeal of the Alien and Sedition laws, which almost caused rebellion in this country some hundred and odd years ago, it will be news to most people. But the crime of libel can be committed only against an individual."

Of the scores upon scores of able editorials that have been called forth relative to this case, nothing has come to our notice that better presents certain fundamentally grave aspects involved than the following editorial by Mr. Louis F. Post, of the *Chicago Public*, which appeared in his able weekly of January 22d:

"On the surface there seems to be little connection between the proceedings at Washington against the *New York World* for seditious libel, and the proceedings there against the *American Federationist* for what we shall have to distinguish as a labor libel. Yet the two are intimately related. Each is a different phase of a tendency toward usurpation of power. In the *Federationist* case, the proceedings tend to destroy freedom of the press by remitting questions of its abuse to the arbitrary determination of injunction judges, thereby destroying the American principle that in libel cases juries shall decide all the issues—publication, libelous character, publishers' motives and justifiableness of publication. In *World* case, the proceedings tend to subject publishers all over the United States to trial in the District of Columbia.

"The proceedings against the *World* are therefore of vastly greater moment to the people of the United States than any question regarding graft in connection with the Isthmian canal, important as some of those questions are. For these proceedings are a menace to the general freedom of the press. They are a greater menace than was the sedition law of 1798, for which the Federalist party was responsible and which drove it from power.

"That old sedition law made it a crime to publish libels upon the President or Congress, and under it editors were tried, convicted and imprisoned. The trials were in the Federal courts in their own states. Yet the people, realizing the danger of bridling the press in its exposures of and comments upon the central government, realizing that it were better that officials be subject even to libels than that the people's liberties be quietly undermined by means which the press dared not expose nor denounce, rose in indignation against the sedition law. But the sedition law was mild in comparison with these proceedings against the

*New York World*. They go farther toward despotism than the despotism of the old Federalists ever dreamed of going.

"Not only does the Federal government take jurisdiction of libels by making them subject to Federal indictment—which was all that the sedition law of 1798 undertook to do—but by making them triable at Washington, though they be published in the most remote part of the Union, it goes the further length of centralizing the power of the Federal government over the press of the whole country.

"Consider the matter. The District of Columbia is the only place, other than territories not yet advanced to statehood, in which offenses not distinctly Federal may be tried in the Federal courts. In the District of Columbia, all phases of the law are within the jurisdiction of the Federal courts; whereas, in the states, the Federal courts have no jurisdiction over cases not involving the authority of the Federal Constitution. A Federal court in Illinois cannot try a criminal libel case, because questions of libel within a state are exclusively of state concern. But in the District of Columbia, the Federal court may try a case of criminal libel, because the District of Columbia is not within any state. The Federal courts there combine the jurisdiction which in a state is divided between state and Federal courts. So long, then, as a person within the District of Columbia commits a crime of any kind against the peace and order of the District, it is entirely right that he be tried there. Consequently, an indictment against Mr. Gompers might be right enough; for his offense, if it was an offense, was committed within the District of Columbia. The question in his case is not one of territorial jurisdiction; it is a question of government by injunction. But the question in Mr. Pulitzer's case is one of territorial jurisdiction. His offense, if it was an offense, was an offense against his state. Possibly it may be conceded that he might be indicted in the District of Columbia for sending a libelous publication into that jurisdiction, on the principle that one state may indict the resident of another for sending a libelous publication over its borders. But the state which indicts under those circumstances cannot try the offender unless he comes voluntarily into its jurisdiction. It cannot bring him there against his will. So in the case of Mr. Pulitzer. If the courts of the District of Columbia may indict him, they cannot compel his attendance without thereby

establishing a precedent for subjecting every publisher in the land to liability to transportation to Washington for trial for any utterance that gives offense to Federal officials.

"To concede the lawful power of the District of Columbia to bring witnesses from a state into its courts by subpoena, or to bring any alleged offender from a state before its courts by warrant, is to concede that all judicial power, over all persons throughout the United States, resides in the courts of the District of Columbia, provided some subtle interpretation of the law enables them to say that the alleged offense was committed in the District constructively. It is therefore to concede that the rest of the United States is, in respect of the most important safeguards of personal liberty, subject to the District of Columbia. This alone would be a dangerous concession, but there lurks within it a greater danger. For the proceedings against the *World* are for sedition—for libeling Federal officials as such. Let this sort of proceeding take root in a little district controlled by the President and a small and irresponsible coterie in Congress, with power in the courts of the district to grab an alleged offender anywhere in the Union, and unauthorized criticism of the President, his official associates and his policies would be too dangerous for any but reckless and irresponsible libelers or exceptionally sturdy patriots to risk.

"We trust that Mr. Pulitzer may at the outset contest the authority of the courts of the District of Columbia to drag him before their bar. Charles A. Dana of the *Sun* did this in President Grant's day of unsavory memory, and did it successfully. Judge Blatchford decided that the courts of the District of Columbia had no long and strong arm with which to sweep this country in the interest of despotism as the long and the strong arm of the Czar sweeps Russia. We trust that Mr. Pulitzer will contest this question, and we wish him the success that Mr. Dana had. It is a vastly more important question than his exposure of the Isthmian canal conspiracy out of which it has grown, and it offers Mr. Pulitzer an infinitely more responsible and more exalted place as a champion of our traditional liberties."

#### The "World" on Mr. Roosevelt's Attempt to Establish Lèse-Majesté.

On January 21st the *World* in its editorial leader entitled "More Lèse-Majesté" thus

reflects its views, which are, we imagine, the views of a vast majority of the more thoughtful Americans:

"The *Sun* reprints from the *Tribune* the following inspired despatch from the *Tribune's* Washington correspondent relating to the government proceedings now under way against this newspaper:

"The President has been advised that a method of prosecution has been found, and although it is too early to reveal the government's plans, it may be said that the prosecution will be pushed with energy. The President is deeply interested in this case, and those charged with the prosecution realize that they will earn his gratitude if their efforts are successful."

"The *Chicago Inter-Ocean*, another staunch Republican newspaper, declares editorially that 'the real complainant, though he brings his action in the name of the United States, is Theodore Roosevelt.' The evidence in Mr. Roosevelt's special message to Congress would alone be sufficient to prove that this is a personal proceeding on his part against the *World*, undertaken for purposes of private and political revenge.

"The real offense of the *World* is that for years it has been an uncompromising leader of the Democratic opposition against Mr. Roosevelt's jingoism, militarism, lawlessness, violence, centralization and cowboy government.

"Mr. Roosevelt's grievances against this newspaper are numerous and noteworthy. We severely condemned his methods of raising a campaign fund in 1904, a criticism that was afterward corroborated by sworn evidence of \$150,000 of life-insurance contributions, by public proof of Harriman's \$260,000 and by the undeniable charge of the Standard Oil Company's \$100,000. We printed the Harriman letter to Sidney Webster, in which that eminent railroad manipulator discussed his secret political relations with Mr. Roosevelt. This compelled Mr. Roosevelt to make public the correspondence with 'My Dear Sherman' which showed how he himself had encouraged tainted money to believe it could control the Presidency.

"We censured Mr. Roosevelt for his wild, vituperative speeches in the summer of 1907 and warned him that he was driving the country on to a disastrous panic. Mr. Roosevelt continued his policy of government by denunciation, and the Roosevelt panic came.

"We have criticized the favoritism with which he has enforced and not enforced the law. We have criticized the favoritism which has demoralized the army and navy. We have criticized his tirades against 'malefactors of great wealth' whom he has refused to prosecute individually for the offenses he charged against them. We have also criticized him for his wanton assaults upon the courts, for his libel upon Congress and for his slanders against individuals, and we shall continue to criticize him on principle whenever we deem it necessary in the public interest.

"The President is not conducting his inquisitorial, star-chamber proceedings against the *World* for any 'infamous libels' it has uttered about the government or any individual. *He is prostituting his power as President of the United States to prosecute the World for the truth it has told about Theodore Roosevelt.*"

Personally we believe that no more deadly blow has been struck against the great bulwark of free institutions—a free press—than is being attempted by this proceeding.

On February 2d the *World* published another important editorial on the latest and in some respects the most amazing and incredible contention in regard to Mr. Roosevelt's action. As this editorial deals in a luminous manner with an important phase of the question, we reproduce it in full:

"United States District-Attorney Stimson has made a remarkable legal discovery. Taking President Roosevelt's view of the law, Mr. Stimson says that any newspaper can be criminally prosecuted for libel 'in a number of distinct and independent jurisdictions.' Mr. Stimson adds that 'in each of these jurisdictions, under well-known principles of law, each of these publications would constitute a separate offense.'

"Mr. Stimson further says that 'criminal-libel proceedings may well engage the attention of the officials whose duty it is to enforce the law in those localities.'

"According to this view of the law, if a copy of one newspaper were sent through the United States mails to anybody in the Philippines, Hawaii, Porto Rico, Cuba, Guam and anywhere else where the post-office is a Federal building, or where a military or naval reservation exists, for that one act an indictment for criminal libel could be found in every one of these jurisdictions. The proceedings could be prosecuted simultaneously, as Mr. Stimson

advises Mr. Jerome. Indictments could be found simultaneously. The proprietor, the editor, the reporter or whoever was responsible for the publication could be simultaneously arrested by every United States marshal in whose district the offending publication had appeared.

"To put in the defense of truth, which Mr. Stimson admits 'would in the present case constitute a complete defense,' would require that the defendant should produce in Guam or Porto Rico or San Francisco or Hawaii, or wherever else President Roosevelt chose to try the case, all the witnesses and all the evidence in his defense. If acquitted there he could proceed to the next jurisdiction with his witnesses and his evidence, and so continue until he was bankrupted or convicted.

"As the *Milwaukee News* well says: 'There are thousands of newspapers throughout the country' which, 'even aware of their legal rights, are yet fearful of litigation' for lack of resources. 'Such a threat,' the *News* adds, 'as uttered by Mr. Roosevelt is calculated to silence them as effectually as if the Executive had the power to muzzle or suppress them by Executive order.'

"Comparatively few newspapers are backed by ample financial resources. Comparatively few are conducted at considerable profit. In most cases the consciousness of service rendered and the privilege of advocating the principles he holds dear must serve the newspaper publisher in lieu of large monetary reward. Not the most honorable, the most inconspicuous or the most careful member of the profession can feel secure from ruin if Mr. Roosevelt's view of the law is accurate. By the power to subject any newspaper to great expense in vexatious and distant proceedings the Executive would possess resources of censorship greater than the Russian Czar's.

"He would not need to 'black out' passages in a newspaper that criticized him. He could crush the offending publication by the tremendous power of the United States government. Under the Roosevelt interpretation of the law any President could, as the *Milwaukee News* says, 'Destroy liberty of the press and speech and bring to an end popular government.'"

On February 4th the *World's* editorial continues its discussion of the latest contention in regard to the case as follows:

"The discovery of United States District-Attorney Stimson that upon President Roosevelt's view of the law of *lèse-majesté*, any news-

paper can be criminally prosecuted for libel 'in a number of distinct and independent jurisdictions' involves momentous consequences.

"If the Roosevelt Discovery is sound in law, if vexatious proceedings can be begun against any newspaper critic of the government in any Federal reservation, then the staunchly Republican *Detroit Journal* was not too emphatic when it said that the President's proceeding 'has reached a stage where it is time to stop laughing. . . . When personal vanity and personal power menace the freedom of the American press the situation ceases abruptly to be amusing.' There are no fewer than 2,686 of these various reservations scattered over the country and its possessions.

"The editors of any newspaper whom a President sees fit to prosecute under this interpretation of the law can be dragged from the Portsmouth navy-yard to the Puget Sound navy-yard, from Fort Knox to the Presidio, from Fort Ethan Allen to Fort Grant, where Colonel Stewart was exiled because he declined to retire from active service at the pleasure of the President. The possibility of ruin—under the Roosevelt Discovery—to any American publisher is an everyday business fact on which he must constantly reckon.

"The Republican *Omaha Bee* says that 'when the publisher of a small weekly at Gretna, Nebraska, was dragged to Omaha for trial on a far-fetched libel charge, the *Bee* protested vigorously against it.' From Gretna to Omaha is twenty miles by rail; and even that shift of venue the *Bee* terms a 'judicial outrage.'

"The Gretna publisher undoubtedly mails his paper to Congressman Hitchcock, of Omaha, in Washington. Let him 'libel the United States' by criticising its Executive, and he and his employes may be cited to Washington on the strength of his 'circulation' there, to the neglect and ruin of their business. They may be taken thence to another Federal reservation, and another, at the mercy of lawless caprice.

"The words of the Boston *Herald*, written before Mr. Roosevelt's Very Latest Discovery in *Lèse-Majesté* became public, are not less applicable in the light of that preposterous doctrine:

"The gravity of the situation lies in this fact, that the American press faces not a Congressional enactment but an *Executive decree* intended to intimidate editors, and setting up the thesis that the government can be libeled, a decree which, under the authority of obsolete

and long-forgotten laws, can engage the judicial machinery of the Republic for the purpose of haling non-subservient, non-obsequious editors into court and punishing them because they had had the courage to utter their convictions.'

"Nor are responsible editors, publishers and employes alone menaced—if the Roosevelt Discovery stands—with possible ruin by repeated, distant, trumped-up proceedings. Any business man who may for any reason incur the dislike of any Executive may be harried from pillar to post to 'testify' concerning facts or publications of which he can know nothing whatever. This has happened in the present case. It may happen again if such subversive proceedings go unrebuked; and we may thus exchange constitutional government for the universal tyranny of subpoena.

"Under the Roosevelt interpretation of the law any President could, as the *Milwaukee News* says, 'destroy liberty of speech and press and bring an end to popular government.'"

#### Europe Amazed at President Roosevelt's Attempt to Establish Lèse-Majesté in The Republic.

The London dispatches to the New York *World* for January 25th give the following as indicating something of the amazement of Europe at President Roosevelt's action:

"There is no procedure in any constitutionally governed European country that is equivalent to that taken by President Roosevelt against the New York *World* in the libel cases now before United States grand juries.

"In England it is impossible to libel the state. If any individual claims to be libeled he can proceed either by civil proceedings for damages or by criminal process for fine or imprisonment of the libeler. It is not within the power of the state or any of its functionaries to summon witnesses to give evidence in any inquisition excepting when a charge has been duly and distinctly formulated by the plaintiff, who must specify clearly who is the alleged offender.

"There has been no analogy in England to President Roosevelt's procedure since the abolition of the Star Chamber. Constitutional authorities here are utterly mystified by the proceedings before the Federal grand jury. They are incomprehensible, being an absolute negation of the accepted principles of law.

"In France President Roosevelt's methods have caused equal amazement. Donald Har-



per, the eminent international lawyer, of Paris, said to the correspondent of the *World*:

"WHICH PART OF STATE LIBELED?"

"Such a procedure as that instituted by President Roosevelt against the *World* would be impossible in France. I fail to grasp what part of the United States has been libeled. Is it the President or the House of Representatives? My understanding is that none of the governmental departments has been libeled.

"You can't libel France as a country, but the President of France, his cabinet, the Senate or Chamber of Deputies may be libeled. If the President of France is libeled the Procureur-General may bring an action, but he cannot do that in the case of the cabinet, Senate or Chamber of Deputies until those bodies have ordered prosecution. Moreover, there must be a specific charge which shows libel.

"No fishing expedition is permissible to find out if there was a libel and who did the libeling. Such a thing is in direct contradiction of the spirit of the French Republic since the Revolution. It seems a rather queer theory that any country except an absolute monarchy could be libeled. A king in an absolute monarchy is really the country. Louis XIV. said, 'I am the state.' In those days he certainly could have had any disrespectful newspaper man put in jail. The theory of all republican forms of government is that the country itself cannot be libeled."

"UNKNOWN IN GERMANY.

"Professor Wagner, of Berlin, an eminent authority on constitutional law, explained to the *World* correspondent that the German law recognizes as offenses any treasonable practices committed by newspapers against the state. It recognizes libel against certain institutions of state that may be accused, but the offense of libeling the state as such is unknown.

"In the case of a libel made by a newspaper against any institution,' said Professor Wagner 'the prosecutor must show all his cards and make specific and definite charges. Such a procedure as a fishing inquiry without

naming the prosecutor is unknown in the German Empire. The laws of evidence are the same in all cases. A case on similar lines to that of President Roosevelt against the *World* is unknown and impossible in Germany."

There can be no doubt but what from the Czar down, every friend of despotism and every enemy of that essential bulwark of free government—a free press—rejoices at the action of the President. It is difficult to conceive anything that could so hearten the enemies of free institutions and clean, progressive and democratic government as the spectacle of the President of the United States invoking the great power of the Federal government in an attempt to crush a newspaper that fearlessly and, as we think the vast majority of our people believe, honestly and patriotically strove to further the interests of good government by exposing what it believed to be evil conditions. We believe no newspaper in the Anglo-Saxon world has ever been engaged in fighting a battle more vital to the life of pure and free government than is the *New York World* at the present time.

#### Abraham Lincoln on Freedom of Speech.

In bold contrast with the present action of Mr. Roosevelt, we have the noble utterance of Abraham Lincoln, who in the most troubled and crucial period in our national history, when if ever there could be justification for suppression of free speech there was present such justification, was too great and far-visioned a statesman, too fundamental a democrat and friend to human liberty and progress, to yield to the importunities of the shallow and timid friends who requested him to suppress the *Chicago Times*. In Lincoln's noble reply he said:

"I fear you do not fully comprehend the danger of abridging the liberties of the people. Nothing but the very sternest necessity can ever justify it. A government had better go to the very extreme of toleration than to do aught that could be construed into an interference with or to jeopardize in any degree the common rights of the citizen."

## SENATOR ROOT'S OPPOSITION TO POPULAR GOVERNMENT.

THAT class of men whom Elihu Root has so faithfully and efficiently served since the days when a great judge severely reprimanded him for his uncalled-for and improper activity in the interests of Boss Tweed, have every reason to congratulate themselves over the replacing of the faithful friend of predatory wealth, T. C. Platt, by Mr. Root. One of the first speeches made by Mr. Root after his election to the Senatorship from New York state, was against the only practical movement of the day that threatens to destroy the corrupt domination of politics through bosses and money-controlled machines working in the interests of privileged wealth and against the rights and interests of the people.

Mr. Root most admirably voiced the cherished wish of all corrupt political bosses and their associates in the feudalism of privileged wealth. He is opposed to Direct-Legislation. Certainly. Would any one ever suppose that the man who was so long the faithful handyman of Thomas F. Ryan and men of his ilk, would favor the rule of the people? But Mr. Root goes further. He is opposed to the people having the opportunity of selecting the United States Senators. Perhaps the personal reason might have somewhat biased his views, but even if it had not entered into the consideration, it is perhaps too much to expect that the Hamiltonian Mr. Root, with his long and intimate association with the master-spirits in the feudalism of privileged wealth, would have ranged himself on the side of popular government at a time when the plutocracy is so active in pushing forward reactionary measures and disseminating undemocratic opinions?

The New York *American* of January 30th contains the following most admirable editorial on Mr. Root's opposition to the people being permitted the chance to menace the rule of corporate wealth by having the power to select the United States Senators, which we commend to the thoughtful consideration of all our readers, as it clearly and succinctly states certain facts that no American patriot should for a moment lose sight of:

"New York's new Senator holds that the law of the land in ordaining the formal election of United States Senators by the state legisla-

ture means that they shall not be directly chosen by the people of the state. The utilization of direct-primary laws to that end is illegal, if not morally wrong and politically unwise. *Mr. Root is not going to the United States Senate as the direct representative of the people, but of the legislature of New York.*

"In defending his position this avowed follower of Hamilton, the great Federalist, was obliged to take a stand for states' rights in the form of Senators representing states, as states, rather than popular movements.

"But Mr. Root's toga of logic failed to fit the situation.

"Senators should represent states, true, but under the present system they do not represent states so much as one party of a state, and that produces a condition of corporation supremacy beyond popular control.

"If the people send a Democratic majority to their state legislature the 'interests' which have their stronghold in the United States Senate secure the election of a corporation Democrat as Senator.

"If the people elect a Republican majority the corporation influence gains a corporation Republican in the United States Senate.

"Mr. Root himself is an example of how the thing works.

"It works to elect corporation Senators rather than Senators representing the people, or the state as a state, or even the legislature. Who believes that Elihu Root will care a snap of his fingers for the New York legislature?

"The new Senator tried to fasten his toga of logic with the fact that some anti-corporation champions clamor for states' rights if they see a way to hit the enemy with state law and state prosecution, while, at the same time, urging the United States government to overstep its boundaries of authority to do what the states fail to do.

"That point is equally strong against the influences behind Mr. Root. They are Federalists when the states assail them and states' rights men when the Federal government seeks to bit and curb their high horse. And in his speech of thanks at Albany Mr. Root tried to explain that he is both a Federalist and a states' rights man, according to circumstances.

"But the real trouble is that he is a corpora-

tion lawyer and that his real constituents are neither Federalists nor states' rights champions, but corporation champions against the people.

"The conflict is not between United States and state authority, but is a question whether the people or corrupt private interests still rule this country."

## POSTAL SAVINGS-BANKS AND THE INTERESTS OF THE PEOPLE.

THE GRATITUDE of the people is to statesmen who have bravely and aggressively fought for the establishment of postal savings-banks throughout the Republic. Were it not for the devil-fish-like grip of the banking and other privileged interests on our government since the feudalism of privileged wealth allied itself with the political boss and gained mastery of the money-controlled machine, it is inconceivable that there would be any serious opposition on the part of the people's representatives; for if the best interests of all the people rather than the selfish desires and cupidity of a class are to be made a master-concern of government, all criticism of postal savings-banks falls to the ground before the much stronger reasons for their establishment.

The success of the postal savings-banks in Great Britain and elsewhere completely answers many of the specious objections which the secret or avowed special advocates of the banking interests have advanced. It has been clearly shown in the practical working of these banks where they have been introduced, that one of the great objects of these banks—an object that operates in favor of both the nation and the individual, has been attained in even greater degree than even the friends of postal savings-banks dared hope would follow. We refer to the wonderful influence they have exerted in promoting thrift and savings on the part of the poor. Englishmen who in the old time were in the habit of spending a goodly portion of their earnings at the public house of a Saturday night, have in thousands upon thousands of instances been induced to set aside part of their earnings for deposit in the government savings-banks. Soon they had accumulated quite a little nest-egg, and were then encouraged to put away more and more, and often all of the money that formerly had been spent in the public-house found its way into the government savings-banks. Children were led to deposit their little money, instead of spending it as before on candy, etc. So

in various ways England became a nation of depositors; thrift was encouraged and hoped for the family which had a few government consols to its credit and the prescribed limit in cash in the government depository, had a great load lifted from its heart. The former ever-present dread of sudden sickness, death and the Potter's field has been lifted in the case of a vast army of Englishmen, who under no circumstances would have deposited their money in private institutions.

The claim that savings-banks answer the purpose of the government postal savings institutions is wide of the truth. First, because there are thousands upon thousands of post-offices where there are no savings-banks, and by the establishment of these banks millions of our people would have brought within their reach the benefits and blessings of a savings-bank that would be absolutely safe. Second, where savings-banks do exist they do not appeal to a large proportion of the people as safe depositories for their earnings, as there have been too many failures of these institutions to invite the confidence of a large proportion of cautious citizens. This is especially true of immigrants or foreigners who, though they have perfect faith in a government institution, will not in a large proportion of cases deposit their hard-earned money in private banks. Wherever there are postal savings-banks, they have been found to foster wider diffusion of the holding of wealth among the people—one of the things which next to the cultivation of thrift on the part of the people is a master demand of our day.

These are but a few of the valid reasons for favoring the establishment of government savings-banks, which are being so satisfactorily and so generally operated throughout the most progressive and civilized lands and which would long since have been a most beneficent feature of our postal system had it not been for the avarice of interested parties and their power in our government.

## SOME RECENT SIGNIFICANT HAPPENINGS.

**Court Decisions That Are of Great Importance to The People.**

**R**ECENTLY, just at the time when the great reactionary journals and their masters, the political bosses and the chiefs of the feudalism of privileged wealth, were congratulating themselves over the general situation and feeling that the great machines and class interests working in unison had succeeded in getting things well in hand, some court decisions were announced which came as a distinct shock to the great predatory and essentially anarchistic bands which have assumed that they were above law and could trample upon the rights and rifle the pockets of the people with impunity.

The decision that debts could not be collected by the law-breaking and lawless corporations has naturally created consternation in the camp of the systematic law-breakers; while the New York Gas decision described in this issue by Mr. Frank came as a further rude awakening to the great criminal corporations. It establishes a precedent of vital importance to the people's cause at the present time.]

**The Unexpected Declaration For Socialism of The United Mine Workers.**

A second disquieting event to the masters of the bread who imagined that through union with other reactionaries they were in a position to check Socialistic advance and step by step weaken the cause of union labor, was the unanimous action of the convention of the United Mine Workers in committing the miners to Socialism. The resolutions adopted were as follows:

*"Whereas, In the light of the industrial depression that has haunted America for more than a year, millions of willing workers have been forced into involuntary idleness, thereby denied access to the means of life; and,*

*"Whereas, Many of those who are victims of this industrial depression have in self-preservation become infractors of law; and,*

*"Whereas, A class of predatory rich who scarcely know the limits of their wealth are co-existent with the countless thousands whose poverty is directly attributable to their failure to find some owner of the means of production to employ them; and,*

*"Whereas, The denial of the opportunity to the willing workers to engage in useful labor springs from the fact that the means with which the necessities of life are produced, are owned and controlled by private individuals, who are not necessary factors in the field of wealth production, but whose only function is to profit by the activity of the working-class so long as a market can be found where the product of the workers can be disposed of; and,*

*"Whereas, The workers receive in the form of wages only a small share of what their labor power with the aid of machinery creates, thus preventing them from buying back out of the markets the equivalent of what they have produced, necessarily causing a glutted market; therefore, be it resolved, etc.; the declaration following:*

*"Resolved, That we, the United Mine Workers of America, in annual convention assembled, recognize and declare for the necessity of the public-ownership and operation and the democratic management of all those means of production and exchange that are collectively used; that every man or woman willing and able to work can have free access to the means of life and get the full social value of what they produce."*

A year ago, it will be remembered, the Socialist resolution was voted down by a decisive majority, and the reactionary press generally confidently declared that never would the great mining organization be committed to the Socialist movement. The United Mine Workers is one of the great dominating bodies of the American Federation of Labor. The action, coming at the present time, affords a striking illustration of the strong current that has set in toward Socialism throughout the labor circles of the United States. Nor is this current confined to those who labor with their hands. The coming out definitely for Socialism of a number of brilliant and influential writers, led by Charles Edward Russell, and the surprising progress being made by the Christian Socialist movement among the clergymen of the New World, are equally significant signs of the general trend of thought among a large element of conscience-guided men and women in every walk of life.



## CONCERNING PHARISEES WHO POSE AS PARAGONS OF RESPECTABILITY.

**How Reactionary and Conventional Leaders Seek to Discredit all Movements That Make for Higher Morality and Social Justice.**

EVERY cause that seeks a wider measure of justice for the people and the uplift of the moral ideals from egoism to altruism, has long to encounter the calumny, slander and misrepresentation of the pillars of conventionalism. And another curious fact to which history bears ample testimony is the proneness of those who pose as ultra-respectable members of society to be guilty of the very sins that they with no valid foundation, charge against those who choose to sink thought of self-advancement for the emancipation of those who are under the wheel of oppression or tyranny.

It will be remembered that the Pharisees of Jesus' time were greatly shocked because the incomparable Prophet of Nazareth ate and consorted with publicans and sinners. They pointed with scorn to the fact that He was the friend of the pariah classes. The Pharisees, by reason of their long prayers and loud protestations of superior morality and respectability, were able to deceive the unthinking masses while they, as Jesus pointed out, devoured widows' homes. And again, we find the moral lepers hastening to the Nazarene with a woman who had been less successful than they in hiding her unchastity.

As it was in the days of Christ, even so is it now. A number of those who have been most strenuous and clamorous in their shameful misrepresentation of Socialism, while pretending to be paragons of respectability, have been overtaken by the Nemesis that their hypocrisy courted.

So striking is this fact that Robert Hunter, one of the strongest and finest members of a splendid coterie of young scholars who have dedicated their lives to social advance and fundamental democracy, has been moved to point out some typical cases in question.

**Robert Hunter on The Sad Fate That Has Overtaken Certain Arch-Foes of Socialism.**

Heretofore Mr. Hunter has appeared as one of the most serious of writers, his works on *Poverty* and *Socialists at Work* being among

the most suggestive and masterly volumes of the class that have appeared. But on this occasion he has departed from his serious vein and handles the subject in a humorous manner that is tellingly effective. Since it is well for friends of social advance who are constantly confronted by the silly echoings of the unthinking parrots of conventional and reactionary thought, to have at hand some facts relating to a few of those who have been among the most violent and reckless assailants of Socialism we reproduce in full Mr. Hunter's bright, brief article which appeared in a recent issue of that vigorous and able new Socialist daily, the *New York Evening Call*:

"I am not a superstitious person. I do not believe in ghosts or witches or goblins.

"But something happens now and then which I can't explain. It frightens me sometimes.

"Whether witches or ghosts or goblins do it, I do n't know. I think it is goblins, because James Whitcomb Riley once wrote a poem about them.

"It was the story of 'Little Orphant Annie,' and when people did wrong she told them to beware, 'Fer the Gobble-uns 'll git you ef you do n't watch out.'

"The fact is that anybody who attacks Socialism nowadays is sure to come to a frightful end. The goblins get after him and give him no peace or quiet.

"A clergyman some time ago attacked Socialism as immoral. The goblins got after him, and almost the next day there was a scandal in his church, and his wife divorced him.

"A few years ago Frank Bigelow, president of the National Bankers' Association, delivered himself of a venomous attack on Socialism.

"And the goblins got after him in the twinkling of an eye. Before he could say 'Scat!' he was convicted of embezzlement, and is now lying in the government prison at Leavenworth.

"Governor Peabody, of Colorado, tried to murder three Socialists. He hired the state militia to the mine owners and sent it wandering over the state bayoneting and shooting innocent workmen.

"The goblins got after him, and now, three years later, he is a penniless beggar, fit for the headline.

"John R. Walsh, of Chicago, was a great banker. He was also a politician. He got rich by robbing his city and country. To help his banking and his politics he bought the *Chicago Chronicle*.

"And then he made a terrible mistake.

"The goblins let him off until he attacked Socialism. It was a vicious attack. He filled his paper with filthy lies about Socialism, and when he did that, the goblins went after him.

"He was indicted and sentenced to prison. He has appealed the case, and his lawyers hope now to prevent a final decision until the old man dies, which they hope will be soon.

"About a year ago Broughton Brandenburg, an unfortunate magazine writer, ventured to attack Socialism.

"The most terrible thing about Socialism, he thought, was its advocacy of free love.

"He sold his lies to the *Broadway Magazine* at so much per lie. He was chuckling over his bargain and rubbing his hands when the goblins got him.

"He went from the *Broadway Magazine* to his home in West Washington street and was seized and arrested. His wife was forced to sue him for support, as he was living with another woman.

"I am not superstitious, but certainly all this proves that there are goblins.

"I know people now who do n't believe there are goblins. But watch out!

"And do n't attack Socialism, especially if you're a clergyman, a banker, or a magazine writer, 'for,' as Orphant Annie says, 'The Gobble-uns 'll git you ef you do n't watch out.'"

#### WIRELESS TELEGRAPHY AS A LIFE-SAVER.

**T**HE RESCUE of the passengers and crew from the doomed "Republic," after she had been rammed and fatally wounded by the "Florida" when far out at sea, gave the world the most striking and dramatic illustration yet afforded of the practical value of that most marvelous of the latter-day electrical discoveries, wireless telegraphy. The great steamer, enshrouded in dense fog was plowing her way through the waves, with prow pointed to the Old World, when suddenly came a fearful shock. The vessel had been stricken and fatally wounded by the prow of another steamer. In old times the probable fate of the human freight on the doomed vessel would have been a watery grave in the trackless deep. But thanks to Marconi, a new day had dawned for the ocean-traveling public. The wireless operator, though his

booth had been partially torn away, was able to find the key of his instrument and instantly sent forth the distress signal, recording the name of his vessel and her latitude and longitude. Far away on the American coast another operator caught the faint signal as registered by his instrument and instantly repeated the call for aid. This message, flung forth upon the deep, was instantly registered on vessels in port and coming and going on the sea, and almost instantly the messages were flashed back of help coming—coming from various directions. Soon a veritable race was taking place. Vessels from various directions were rushing to the aid of the disabled "Republic." Thus succor came in time and death was cheated of its harvest by the discovery and inventive genius of the great life-saver, Marconi.

## PROGRESSIVE LEGISLATION IN AUSTRALIA.

### The Triumph of Women's Suffrage in Victoria, Australia.

**A**NOTHER significant victory has been won for women's suffrage. This time it is in Victoria, Australia. For sixteen times the popular House had passed a bill in favor of granting franchise to women, only to have it defeated in the upper reactionary House, on the ground that the conservative statesmen were opposed to hasty legislation. At length, however, the public pressure became so strong that the reactionaries could no longer resist the popular demand, and the bill has now been passed by both branches of the legislature.

### Rapid Growth of The Temperance Sentiment in New Zealand.

The last election in New Zealand registered as emphatic an advance in the temperance sentiment in the Dominion as that which has marked recent elections in this country. In commenting on this result, the *Australian Review of Reviews* says:

"At the time of writing it is announced that no-license has been carried in eleven electorates, Manukau, Grey Lynn, Ashburton, Oamaru, Mataura, Clutha, Bruce, Eden, Ohiremuri, Ivercargill, Masterton, Hutt, Wellington suburbs and Wellington South. Of course it must be remembered that the issue is carried on a three-fifths majority. In order to show how sweeping was the sentiment in favor of no-license, we need merely quote the fact

that in fifty-four electorates from which returns are available, forty-five showed majorities in favor of no-license. In Wellington City the votes came only about 900 votes short of no-license, and in Auckland about the same number. All of the four large cities had majorities for no-license, though they fell short of the three-fifths necessary. It would seem as though it is only a question of a little time before the figures rise high enough all over the Dominion to swamp the liquor trade. It is estimated that over 150 hotels will be closed as the result of the poll. Not a penny compensation will be paid. The licenses simply are not renewed on their expiry in June next. Wellington City will be now surrounded by a no-license area some miles wide. Fuller particulars will be available for our next issue."

### The New Zealand Election.

At the last election in New Zealand, Prime Minister Ward and the Liberal government were overwhelmingly victorious. It is evident that the electorate of the Dominion are not disposed to listen to the false prophets of reaction, while the steady and progressive program that has marked the government of New Zealand since the triumph of the Liberals brought prosperity and democratic advance to the islands, in the early nineties, appeals to the people as safer and wiser than the more radical and revolutionary program that some voters insisted upon.

## MR. STEAD'S REPORT OF HIS PSYCHICAL EXPERIENCES.

**I**N A CONVERSATION with Frances Willard several years ago, the great Christian Temperance and purity worker expressed her intense interest in Mr. William T. Stead's psychical experiences. She was an admirer of the distinguished journalist and had great confidence not only in his sincerity and uprightness, but also in his ability to competently investigate psychic phenomena; and the fact that he was obtaining such remarkable results in automatic writing gave special interest to his work for this high-minded Christian woman.

Later Mr. Stead described to us at length his extended experiences, in which his hand automatically wrote, sometimes of things he did not know and in the nature of the case could not know through recognized or ordinary channels of information.

In a recent issue of the *Fortnightly Review* Mr. Stead contributes a notable paper on "How I Know the Dead Return," in which he gives a graphic record of his personal experiences. In this paper he points out from time to time the inadequacy of such popular explanations as telepathy to meet certain phe-

nomena he has personally experienced. Like Dr. Alfred Russel Wallace, he has had most remarkable experiences in photographs containing images purporting to be those of the spirits of the dead. Mr. Stead is not blind to the fact that frauds may easily be perpetrated in the making of such photographs. On this point he says:

"Let me disarm any skeptical reader by admitting that nothing is more easy than to fake bogus spirit photographs, and further that an expert conjurer can almost always cheat the most vigilant observer. The use of marked plates, which I handle, expose, and develop myself, no doubt affords some protection against fraud. But my belief in the authenticity of spirit photographs rests upon a far firmer basis than the fallible vigilance of the experimenter."

Here are some experiences he gives concerning a friend who kept her promises to the journalist after she had crossed the Great Divide:

"She promised, in the first place, that she would use my hand, if she could, after death, to tell me how it fared with her on the other side: In the second place, she promised that, if she could, she would appear to one or more of her friends to whom she could show herself. In the third place, she would come to be photographed, and fourthly, she would send me a message through a medium, authenticating the message by countersigning it with the simple mathematical figure of a cross within a circle.

"E. M. did all four. (1) She has repeatedly written with my hand, apparently finding it just as easy to use my hand now as she did when still in the body.

"(2) She has repeatedly appeared to two friends of mine, one a woman, the other a man. She appeared once in a dining-room full of people. She passed unseen by any but her friend, who declares that she saw her distinctly. On another occasion she appeared in the street in broad daylight, walked for a little distance, and then vanished. I may say that her appearance was so original it would be difficult to mistake her for anybody else.

"(3) She has been photographed at least half a dozen times after her death. All her portraits are plainly recognizable, but none of them are copies of any photographs taken in earth life.

"(4) There remains the test of a message accompanied by the sign of a cross within a

circle. I did not get this for several months. I had almost given up all hopes, when one day a medium who was lunching with a friend of mine received it on the first attempt she made at automatic writing. 'Tell William not to blame me for what I did. I could not help myself,' was the message. Then came a plainly but roughly drawn circle, and inside it the cross. No one knew of our agreement as to the test but myself. I did not know the medium, I was not present, nor was my friend expecting any message from E. M."

Mr. Stead thus closes this remarkable paper:

"One last word. For the last fifteen years I have been convinced by the pressure of a continually accumulating mass of first-hand evidence of the truth of the persistence of personality after death, and the possibility of intercourse with the departed. But I always said, 'I will wait until some one in my own family has passed beyond the grave before I finally declare my conviction on this subject.'

"Twelve months ago this month of December I saw my eldest son, whom I had trained in the fond hope that he would be my successor, die at the early age of thirty-three. The tie between us was of the closest. No one could deceive me by fabricated spurious messages from my beloved son.

"Twelve months have now passed, in almost every week of which I have been cheered and comforted by messages from my boy, who is nearer and dearer to me than ever before. The preceding twelve months I had been much abroad. I heard less frequently from him in that year than I have heard from him since he passed out of our sight. I have not taken his communications by my own hand. I knew him so well that what I wrote might have been the unconscious echoes of converse in the past. He has communicated with me through the hands of two slight acquaintances, and they have been one and all as clearly stamped with the impress of his own character and mode of thought as any of the letters he wrote to me during his sojourn on earth.

"After this I can doubt no more. For me the problem is solved, the truth is established, and I am glad to have this opportunity of testifying publicly to all the world that so far as I am concerned, doubt on this subject is henceforth impossible."

Few things in modern happenings are more remarkable than the fact that side by side with the rapid waning of general or popular interest in spiritualistic or psychical phenomena has



been the steady rise in interest in these phenomena on the part of great psychologists, physicists, and other critical investigators and leading thinkers. Such men as Sir William Crookes, Dr. Alfred Russel Wallace, Cesare Lombroso, Camille Flammarion, Sir Oliver Lodge, Professor William James and Professor James H. Hyslop are but a few of those

who rank among the foremost scientific and critical investigators of the age; while Mr. Stead among journalists, and Hamlin Garland among novelists, are typical representatives of popular thinkers who have investigated psychical phenomena until they have become thoroughly convinced as to the reality of the phenomena.

## PUBLIC-OWNERSHIP NEWS.

By BRUNO BECKHARD,

Of the Bureau of Civic and Industrial Research.

### Malpractice.

**N**O SCIENTIFIC principle has yet been found that could not be used for malpractice. Progress is based not on that malpractice but on the recognition of quackery as such and its consequent elimination. Public-ownership of public utilities, because of its very normal appeal is often used as a political slogan, a sort of political patent medicine. Then, when the colored water in the fancy bottle has no effect on political ills of the community we hear the victims cry municipal-ownership has failed. In reality it has not been tried.

A Western city known throughout the country for its rotten politics is a case in point. Its administration when elected on a municipal-ownership platform actually worked against the establishment of municipal plants, and now under a slightly different tittle is trying to sell some of the plants they have sucked dry. By one man's deference to another man's campaign promises the city acquired a model garbage plant, built as the first unit of a system. With that plant only a few months in operation the city is now considering a thirty-years' garbage contract with prices fixed in advance at what is already an exorbitant figure. When for purely political reasons the lighting plant becomes a sort of contribution-box, we are treated to such fine thinking as "It takes an extraordinary man to run a lighting plant, and we of Seattle are only ordinary men." No, it does not take an extraordinary man to run a lighting plant. It takes an ordinary sense of ordinary decency. When Seattle's administration acquires that we will admit it to the rank of "ordinary men" and will listen to its

experience. Until then it is in a different class and it throws no light on the question of Public-Ownership.

### Water-Front Development in Massachusetts.

THE CITY of Lynn has before it no less ambition than to become the largest port on the Atlantic coast. Work has been begun to reclaim land along the water-front to the value of \$40,000,000, and a channel is being dredged forty feet deep and 1,000 feet wide.

Salem, in olden days one of the great ports of the world, is planning exactly the same thing.

Boston, on the other hand, will first give a franchise for railroad tracks along the East Boston water-front before it approaches the full issue of harbor improvements.

### Pasadena, California.

PASADENA faces the not unusual situation of a municipal lighting plant needing a considerable bond issue for its completion and running in competition to a private plant. The manager of the municipal plant wisely suggests that the city buy the private plant. If the city is in a position to do so this is the only logical course. In the ordinary run of events both parties have more to gain by consolidation than by competition. In no event should the city leave its plant incomplete, for in that case it would simply be taxing the community for the benefit of the Edison Company. Just why any city should start to operate a municipal plant, put a lot of money into it and then stop and say, "We really can't do this, you know. See, we tried it, and it did n't work," is incomprehensible. Yet a group of

people are working very hard to make Pasadena say that. Why, the very demand for extension shows that the plant has good prospects.

It is a pity, however, that a growing city like Pasadena should expend any money on overhead wires, for it thereby postpones the era of the underground conduit. It is a short-sighted policy that builds only for to-day, and the city that goes on stringing up overhead wires is gradually mortgaging its future.

#### **Practical Conservation.**

GOVERNOR FORT, of New Jersey, is advocating public-ownership by the state of all the sources of water supply in New Jersey, particularly in the northern part of the state. Water occupies a peculiar position in Jersey, for not only is it sought, as elsewhere, by private corporations, but it also figures in inter-urban politics, and some of the Jersey cities have been known to seek a corner in water. With the coming of the Hudson tunnels the map of New Jersey is rapidly changing, and as Governor Fort points out, the entire district within twenty-five miles of Jersey City is rapidly becoming one solid urban community. Under these circumstances the control of water supply by the separate municipalities leads not only to unnecessary expense but to much friction and not a little danger. Governor Fort's suggestion is both far-sighted and practicable. It differs from the metropolitan service of Massachusetts only in that the need is greater and in that the central city is not under the same jurisdiction as the suburban towns and cannot take any share in the expense. The latter difference serves only to make the plan easier of execution, however, and leads to an equitable distribution of the cost among the cities that benefit most by the improvement.

#### **The Smile on The Face of The Tiger.**

DURING the last few years considerable emphasis has been laid on the substitute for Public-Ownership known as the "Partnership Plan," whereby the city gets a share of the net earnings of the private corporation that operates a public utility. In theory this plan is admirable, and if it were possible to control corporation accounting it would seem unobjectionable. Policy has demanded fair returns to the city during the first years of this experiment wherever it is being tried—and the results are soothing. The other side of the

story makes its first appearance in the recommendations recently sent to the city council of Philadelphia in connection with the proposed appropriation for the city's legal department. It advises that the council forbid any attorney whose name appears on the city's payrolls, or his law partners, to bring suit, either directly or indirectly against the city. Directly or indirectly, the Rapid Transit Company is a partner of the city. Therefore a suit against the Rapid Transit Company is a suit against the city. Therefore—

#### **Notes.**

HADDONFIELD, New Jersey, has finally started to build its own water-works.

VENTOR, New Jersey, which plans to give free service to its property-holders, disposed of its \$25,000 issue of sewer and water bonds at a premium. The bonds were taken by New York and Philadelphia houses at \$101.25.

PARIS received \$13,000 more revenue from the Bois de Boulogne than was necessary to keep the park in perfect condition.

IN THE last financial year the light and power plant of Riverside, California, cleared \$34,739.10.

THE WATER and lighting plants of Jacksonville, Florida, show a profit for the year of \$31,000.

#### **The Next Act.**

WITH the return of trade all over the country—not yet the return of prosperity—comes an equally wide growth of far more importance. Like a picture puzzle of gigantic size, with a contribution now from this city, now from that, now from a national body, again from a local group, bit by bit we are getting a national feeling of interdependence. Hitherto we have been groping and growing like children in a common school, now as we mature, we try to find our place in a larger sphere, to do our part. City after city manifests this desire to fit into some general plan. Commercial organizations are studying local problems not with the view of making the biggest copy of New York or Chicago but of centralizing in each city the industries best suited to each community. That is the first step. Then comes the securing of a market, the coöperation with the surrounding country (noticeably, for instance, in the case of Minneapolis and St. Paul), then the development of transporta-

tion witnessed by the movement for inland waterways, and the continent-wide opposition to existing express rates. What could be more significant than the return of Lynn and Salem from manufacture to their former standing as great seaports? And so on.

The President has vetoed a franchise for water-power in Missouri. States everywhere are reaching out to protect their natural resources. Why? Because these resources are essential to the new growth, to the readjustment, to the larger plan. The position of the city is changing. It is becoming a unit in a vast commercial scheme. And as such not only must it be governed better, but it must control as common property those resources on which all business is dependent. In the new order of things new values appear, and the fight for Public-Ownership takes on a new aspect. Momentarily the difference is due to the fact that water and light are both subsidiary to water-power. But that change contains in itself its own hope. For as new needs arise for water and light and power, as more and more individuals depend for their success on the equitable distribution of natural resources, as they must with any form of local adaptation, so these things will naturally pass into public control. Whatever the causes of the panic of 1907, however slow our recovery, we grow out of it a greater industrial republic with a much greater realization of our democratic needs.

#### **Manitoba's Profitable Telephones.**

MANITOBA's telephone system, operated under government ownership, shows a surplus of \$250,000 for the first year.

In January, 1906, the Provincial government bought the Bell Telephone Company's plant, lines and paraphernalia for some \$4,000,000. In certain classes rates were reduced, but it was not deemed practical to make many reductions on account of heavy expenditures in running 600 miles of new long-distance lines and in opening large numbers of

new exchanges, besides building many rural systems.

Reductions are promised shortly in rates of from 25 to 40 per cent.

#### **Quito, Ecuador.**

A CONTRACT is offered to the city of Quito, Ecuador, South America, by the electric-light and power company of that city, whereby, in return for an electric tramway concession for seventy-five years, the company offers the city, after 7 per cent. has been paid on the capital invested, participation in the remaining net profits of the company during the first ten years, 5 per cent., 10 per cent. during the second ten years, 15 per cent. during the third ten years, and 20 per cent. during the remaining forty-five years.

#### **Los Angeles, California.**

EARLY in 1902 Los Angeles resumed possession of its water-works, which had some years before been leased to a private company. Since that date the city has, out of the water-rents, not only paid the accruing principal and interest on the bonds issued for the repurchase of the water-works, but has rebuilt the entire system and extended its mains to meet the demands of a city three times its present population. Nor is this all: it has also reduced water-rents fifty per cent., so that citizens of Los Angeles are now paying but a trifle more than one-third as much as the people of San Francisco. The water department has, in seven years, paid out of its profits for the benefit of the people almost four million dollars and has nearly three-quarters of a million dollars surplus left in its treasury. Citizens of other communities should put on their thinking-caps and look about them. Do you wonder that interested parties who decry Public-Ownership are willing to relieve municipalities of the "loss" and "bother" of running their own plants?

**BRUNO BECKHARD.**

## INITIATIVE AND REFERENDUM NEWS.

BY ROBERT E. BISBEE, A.M.,  
Secretary of the Massachusetts Referendum League.

**Oregon.**

SINCE the last issue of *THE ARENA* very little of interest to Direct-Legislation workers has occurred in the way of law-making. The interest centers chiefly in proposed measures, discussion of theories, and explanations of existing laws. Among the important discussions is that of United States Senator Bourne, of Oregon, on the Oregon situation with reference to the election of United States Senators in that state. Writing of the Oregon law in Senator LaFollette's new paper, Senator Bourne thus comments:

"This law provides for the popular nomination of all candidates for office, including that of United States Senators, by a regular election under the Australian ballot system within those parties that in the preceding general election cast twenty-five per cent. of the state's vote.

"Our primary-election law provides that an elector seeking office may get his name on the party's ballot by petition, in which, among other things, he agrees to 'accept the nomination and will not withdraw,' and, if elected, 'will qualify as such officer,' implying, of course, that he will also serve.

"Under the law, the legislative candidate may, in addition to stating on his petition in not to exceed a hundred words what measures and principles he advocates, also subscribe to one of two statements; but if he does not so subscribe he shall not on that account be debarred from the ballot."

The first is designated in the law as Statement No. 1, and is as follows:

"I further state to the people of Oregon, as well as to the people of my legislative district, that during my term of office I will always vote for that candidate for United States Senator in Congress who has received the highest number of the people's votes for that position at the general election next preceding the election of a Senator in Congress, without regard to my individual preference."

"It will be perceived that it is the people's choice and not a party's choice that the legis-

lator is pledged to, in which respect our law recognizes the people—the electorate and not a party as the source of sovereign power in the state."

Statement No. 2 is as follows:

"During my term of office I shall consider the vote of the people for United States Senator in Congress as nothing more than a recommendation, which I shall be at liberty to wholly disregard if the reason for doing so seems to me to be sufficient."

"The petitioner may omit making any statement if he so desires, and let his constituents guess as to what course he may take in the Senatorial contest.

"In Oregon, as in some other states, for years public sentiment has been a crystallized one in favor of the popular election of United States Senators.

"Recognizing this popular conviction the average legislative candidate in Oregon is now inclined to take the Statement No. 1 pledge.

"But it was found on the very first trial of our law that the political boss was out of a job and particularly injured because his influence and value were entirely eliminated when forty-six or more of the ninety members comprising the legislature should be pledged under Statement No. 1 to elect the people's choice for United States Senator."

After explaining the Senatorial situation in Oregon where a Democrat has received a majority of the popular vote in a Republican state Senator Bourne adds:

"The people's selection of Governor Chamberlain for their Senator will inevitably be ratified by the Oregon legislature, and thus Oregon will present a demonstration that our electorate have evolved a plan which in effect permits the people to select their own Senators, and crystallized public opinion forces the legislature to elect the individual thus selected by the people.

"While a number of other states have primary laws, none have the Statement No. 1 provision which, in my opinion, is the essence of our primary law as far as the selection by



the people of their United States Senators and their enforced election of same by the legislators.

"All of those fifty-one members in the Oregon legislature who subscribed to Statement No. 1 pledge did so voluntarily. It was so subscribed to by them from a personal belief in the desirability of the popular election of United States Senators and for the purpose of securing for themselves from the electorate preferment in the election to the office sought; the consideration in exchange for such preferment was to be by them, as the legally constituted representative of the electorate in that behalf; the perfunctory confirmation of the people's selection for United States Senator, as that choice might be ascertained under the provisions of the same law by which the legislators themselves secured nomination to office.

"No oath could be more sacred in honor; no contract more binding; no mutual consideration more definite than is contained in the Statement No. 1 pledge; and no parties to a contract could be of more consequence to government and society than the electorate upon the one side and its servants upon the other.

"Under the United States Constitution there can be no penalty attaching to the law. The legislator breaking his sacred pledge cannot be imprisoned or fined; hence, he is doubly bound by honor to redeem his voluntary obligation. Failure to do so would not only brand him as the destroyer of a sacred trust but as the most contemptible of cowards, because legally immune from punishment for his perfidy.

"It is absolutely inconceivable that a single one of these fifty-one men will prove recreant either by resigning, by emigrating from the state or by refusing to vote as he has pledged his sacred honor to do. Death only can relieve him of his responsibility, and the individual who would advise or in any degree justify one of these men in such betrayal would become even more contemptible than the actual culprit in the estimation of every honorable man. Nor could the beneficiary of such perfidy and betrayal of a sacred trust escape. The office itself would be made thereby unclean, and the odors of fraud would linger in the toga."

It is with great pleasure that we record the fact that the Oregon legislators have been true to their pledge and have elected the people's choice to the United States Senate. This proves that the people can rule when they will.

#### **Governor Hughes on Direct Primaries.**

THE ZEAL of the opponents of Direct Legislation for the maintenance of the representative system is something refreshing. To them the representative system has become the most sacred thing in human affairs. They are even opposed to direct primaries lest representative government should be overturned by the people. The real meaning of their zeal is, of course, that they do not want the power of the party boss overthrown. Their pretensions are well exposed by Governor Hughes, of New York, in a speech before the Hughes Alliance in New York City where the Governor said:

"Whatever may be said in theory, the intervention of delegates to choose the nominees is for the most part a sham. Whether the delegates are ignored, as is so largely the case, or are the subject of barter and traffic, as is too frequently the case, particularly in our smaller communities, it comes to the same thing. They represent a form which is useful in the main only to delude the people, and constitute a travesty of representation. If it were proposed to confer by law upon these who to so large an extent dictate the nomination of candidates, the power that they actually exercise, the state would rise in indignant protest.

"I have urged that party candidates should be nominated directly by the voters of the party. That is, that the party members should decide directly who should stand for office as the party representative. This is called the system of direct nominations.

"The system is criticized by some upon the ground that it is inconsistent with representative government. Some who advance this argument must believe the charge that I am lacking a sense of humor. For the valiant defense of representative government by those who in practice seek to nullify it and treat it with contempt, is one of the most absurd spectacles to which we have ever been treated in the dominion of political argument.

"We elect our governors, our mayors and our legislators directly. They are chosen by direct vote of the people. These officers are none the less representative, and we have none the less representative government because we choose them by direct vote.

"The king and aristocracy had as secure a title and as many arguments in their favor as our modern bosses and political cliques. The transfer of power from self-constituted authority, whether based on claim of divine right or achieved through astute manipulation, to the

people cannot be complete as long as party machinery is so devised that it makes easy the domination of the few.

"It is not enough to say that those who may control party government frequently yield to or seek to ascertain the demands of the people. The same can be said of some of the worst despotisms that ever existed.

"Some would have it appear that the matter is one of great difficulty and intricacy. In fact, we simply have to adapt our primary methods to those of our general elections with such improvements as our own experience shows to be advisable. In reality our delegate system is far more complicated, and if it does not appear to be such, it is because it has become so largely a matter of form."

#### **Direct-Legislation League of California.**

THE Direct-Legislation League of California has been organized "for the purpose of ending corrupt political rule in city, county and state by placing in the hands of the people those instruments of Direct-Legislation that make representative government truly representative."

It is the purpose of the League to secure from the next legislature the submission to the people of a constitutional amendment reserving to the people the Initiative and Referendum powers. The League is also heartily in favor of a proper direct-primary law, and its representatives at Sacramento, during the next session of the legislature, will work to that end. The League is non-partisan. It is neither for nor against any party, but it proposes to bring about the adoption of the Initiative and Referendum.

Dr. John R. Haynes, of Los Angeles, is the president of the League, and Milton T. U'Ren, 26 Montgomery street, San Francisco, is the secretary.

#### **"The Union of Reforms."**

"THE TIME has come when the reformers of all classes should unite on one great fundamental principle and work until it is secured. This is the principle of the Initiative and Referendum. Here is a field for the activity of those who believe in the single tax, in prohibition, in Socialism, in populism, in anti-imperialism and in tariff reform. The princi-

ple of Direct-Legislation once established, these reforms can be taken up by their special advocates and brought directly before the people without confusion and without any connection with other reforms.

"As an illustration, let us take the question of Socialism. There are a great many people socialistically inclined who do not believe in a complete Socialism, or at least who would regard it as dangerous to have Socialism forced upon us by a party. Party rule is always minority rule. The majority of the party controls the party, and the majority of a party is always a minority of all the people. Hence, there is a reason to dread Socialism, if inaugurated by a political party, but no reason to dread it if it should be inaugurated by a majority of the people themselves. The people would be in no danger of moving too fast towards the desired goal. If they found they were going too fast they could easily retrace their steps, but a party could not retrace its steps without inviting defeat. The situation is too obvious to need further argument. The first step in reform is plainly to secure the Initiative and Referendum."

THE Iola, Kansas, *Register* is authority for the statement that Senator Frank Travis will introduce in the legislature a resolution to submit the question of the Initiative and Referendum to the electorate of that state. The *Register* further explains:

"The 'initiative' is the power of proposal of a law by the people; the 'referendum' is the power of submission of a law to the people at the polls for approval or rejection. The object of the measure by Senator Travis is, of course, to provide a process for the elimination of bad laws and the enactment of good ones, by the people, when the legislature refuses or fails to act. The measure is based on the Oregon Initiative and Referendum law, which has been time tested and found adequate in all particulars. The states of Montana, Utah, Nevada, South Dakota, Oklahoma, Maine and Missouri have adopted the Initiative and Referendum and with satisfactory results where the law has been effective long enough to give it a practical test. Senator Travis has had the advice and personal suggestion of the framer of the Oregon law in preparing his measure."

ROBERT E. BISBEE.

## NEWS OF INDUSTRIAL COÖPERATION.

BY HAZEL HAMMOND ALBERTSON,  
Of the Bureau of Civic and Industrial Research.

**Co-operative Housekeeping.**

THE PRACTICABILITY of coöperative housekeeping is slowly but surely winning its way, and that which has been but a vision is coming into the realm of the actual at last. The successful institution of coöperative apartment houses in New York has brought about coöperative apartments in other cities. A small apartment building is to be erected in Boston in the near future, and in Philadelphia the plan is being tried in a restricted way in a group of 97 two-story houses which is being erected by the Girard estate on the squares which center at Eighteenth and Porter streets. These houses do not have a coöperative kitchen, but heat, light and hot water are supplied from a large power-house, costing \$125,000 which is being erected at one side of the tract, near Twentieth and Oregon streets. This service will be rendered with unusual economy, and it is expected to minimize the work of house servants, doing away with lighting and care of fires, removal of ashes and incident duties. Under this plan it is estimated that heat, light and hot water can be provided at an average expense of \$8 to \$10 per month. The task of supplying hot water to the houses, which are detached two-story dwellings, caused much study, but was met by an independent system of pipes. For those who wish to operate sewing-machines or washing-machines by electricity, power can be supplied from the central plant, and further extensions of the coöperative idea are planned if the first conveniences prove satisfactory. Besides providing a common household service, the Girard estate has made a departure in two-story house operations in Philadelphia by introducing varied architectural designs in the new houses down-town and not building them according to a single design. The variety of effects, including Colonial, Romanesque and Queen Anne styles, makes an unusually picturesque grouping for the smaller class of residences, and to this is added an attractive little park at the northwestern angle of the tract, upon the site of Stephen Girard's old country home.

A New York artist, Charles R. Lamb, has recently drawn up plans for the installing of a coöperative kitchen in the typical New York flat. Such a block of flats averages about ninety-five dwellings devoted exclusively to dwelling purposes. The American family averages about five persons, so the block contemplated by Mr. Lamb would represent 450 persons for whom food would have to be provided. The artist's idea is to take a strip from the relatively useless yards of perhaps ten houses, and erect thereon a three-story coöperative building. This structure is to be three stories in height, with a laundry in the basement, store-rooms and a receiving court on the first floor, and a kitchen on the second. Between this building and the contributory dwellings covered ways extend, so that the housewife can communicate with kitchen or laundry with comfort and facility. Here all the cooking and all the laundry work of the block can be done. The scheme would enable each housekeeper to determine precisely the sort of dishes she wanted and those who preferred to do their own shopping could have their meats and other provisions sent home and delivered at the coöperative kitchen merely to be cooked. Or, in some cases, Mr. Lamb thinks the housekeepers of a block might agree upon a series of meals on the *table d'hôte* plan. In any event there could always be a series of dishes or classes of meals from which people in the block could order at pleasure. Mr. Lamb, drawing from statistics as to the actual cost of meals in New York hotels, figures the cost to each individual under the above plan to be less than one dollar a day. Mr. Lamb goes on to say, "The domestic side of life is the only one which has not hitherto profited by modern advances in business methods, but the time is coming when organization will do its work in the home as in the office. It is an obvious proposition that a cook, occupied steadily for eight hours a day, could do far more work than she does now in a private family, where there are other duties.

Moreover, the private individual purchases at a disadvantage. Why not put the percentage lost in private barter into paying for a coöperative kitchen?"

#### **University Students' Dining Club.**

AN EXCEEDINGLY interesting account of the coöperative dining club at the University of Missouri, situated at Columbia, appears in the daily press, and it seems worth reprinting in full, because it shows so clearly the methods employed by this most successful institution.

"Students at the University of Missouri are able to get board at the University Dining Club for \$1.50 a week. This low price is made possible because the club is coöperative and because 430 students are members. This year scores of students made application for meal-permits, and were told that the club was already filled to its capacity. Students desiring to 'break in' at the club have paid as much as \$7 as a premium for a meal-permit. A day's menu at the club is as follows:

"Breakfast—Apples, grapes, pears, or oranges; cereals; beefsteak, breakfast bacon, pork chops or liver; eggs in various styles, biscuits, bread, coffee, milk.

"Dinner—Roast beef or pork, occasionally fowl; potatoes, peas, beans, corn, tomatoes; pie or pudding and occasionally ice cream and cake; cranberries and celery; corn and light bread.

"Supper—Roast beef, pork chops or fish; one or two vegetables; biscuits, bread, coffee, milk and fruit.

"A meal-permit which gives the owner the right to eat at the club, costs \$19. A permit must be bought from the secretary of the university. The main purpose of a meal-permit is to supply the manager of the club with funds at the beginning of the year, so that he may be able to purchase food-stuffs and other incidentals in large quantities and thereby save on the purchase price. The permit also serves to pay the salaries of the cooks and other helpers of the club.

"Freshmen or men eating at the club for the first time must pay an initiation fee of \$1. A deposit fee of \$5 is required of all members. This is refunded at the end of the year. The meal-permit fund amounts to more than \$8,000 a year. The weekly income of the club amounts to more than \$650. The club's annual income totals \$30,000, and the expenditures of the club are the same as the receipts.

"The amount of food used at the University Dining Club is said to exceed that used by any dining-room in Missouri and is equal to that used in any large Eastern college dormitory. Three hundred and fifty pounds of meat, six bushels of potatoes, 1,000 biscuits, six gallons of syrup and 225 loaves of bread are used in a day. All food-stuffs for the club are bought in large quantities, usually in carload lots. Meat is contracted for by the year and is received in weekly shipments from the Kansas stock-yards. At present there are more than \$5,000 worth of groceries in store in the club pantry. All groceries and meats in store are kept cool by a modern cold-storage and refrigerating system, which was installed last summer. The University Dining Club has eleven student waiters. After each meal twenty self-supporting students find employment in the club kitchen as dish-washers and as kitchen assistants. The club uses 2,500 dishes for each meal, and they are washed by a mechanical washing-machine run by an electric motor."

#### **A Miners' Co-operative Club.**

THE employés of the Newhouse mines, of Newhouse, Utah, have been allowed by the policy of the mine-owner, Mr. Newhouse, that opportunity for social development, which is chiefly lacking in most American mines, and which has resulted in a most flourishing coöperative club. The story of its organization and development is told by Lafayette Hanchett, general manager of the mines, in the *Engineering and Mining Journal*, published in New York.

The Cactus Club, as it is called from the name of the mine where the men work, was incorporated on May 27th, 1905, with nine employés of the company as directors. An attractive and commodious club building of one story and basement was erected. The main floor was divided into general reception-room, reading-room, billiard-room, and bar-room. This was furnished with one billiard table, one pool table, card tables, reading tables, book-cases, lounge, and a plentiful assortment of easy and comfortable chairs. A small bar with usual fixtures was included. A few days later the club was opened to its members, having obtained its first supplies upon credit, payment being guaranteed by the mining company. The organization followed lines similar to those adopted by city clubs. An initiation fee of 50 cents and



monthly dues of twenty-five cents were charged.<sup>1</sup> The directors instituted a policy of selling best grades of liquors and cigars at about two-thirds the price usually charged in saloons. The club employes were instructed to discourage and prevent excessive drinking. The club was open from 10 A.M. to 10 P.M. to members only. The first requisite to membership was that the applicant be an employé of the mining company, his election or rejection resting solely with the directors.

From the beginning the club has been a success. An average membership of 250 has prevailed, out of 400 employes. A pianola piano was purchased and also an Edison talking-machine and a supply of books. A barber-shop was fitted up; the magazine and newspaper list was increased extensively. A ladies' day was established each Wednesday, with dancing as a feature of the evening.

The excessive use of intoxicants formerly apparent in many individual cases on pay days, almost disappeared, because of the influence of the club and the restrictions imposed by the club directors.

As the club prospered it accumulated a considerable fund, which resulted in the directors erecting a small theater for public entertainments and dances. At this time the miners' boarding-houses afforded the sole and somewhat unsuitable means of accommodating theatrical companies; therefore, the club directors decided to erect a small hotel which was to be conducted in a superior style and to be completed at the same time as the theater building. Both buildings were put in use early in 1908 and served to improve the social life of the town.

Beyond its charge for monthly rental for use of the club building the mining company refrains from any connection or interference with the affairs of the club. All powers are vested in its nine directors. In the three and one-half years of its existence, from a start with no funds and with a stock of goods bought entirely upon credit, it has reached a point where its property, fully paid for, including theater and hotel building, furniture, fixtures, and stock of merchandise, shows an inventory value of over \$16,000. In addition it has cash in treasury amounting to \$2,500. The directors are now considering carrying their coöperative plans into broader channels by instituting a club general store, and so furnish members and their families all commodities directly at cost.

#### **Grange Stores.**

THE Patrons of Husbandry of Sagadahoc county, Maine, are starting a coöperative store in Bath which is to carry a complete line of meats, groceries, hardware, seeds, flour, farming tools, etc. The farmers bring their wares to the store to be disposed of on commission or exchanged for articles carried by the store, and whatever is purchased will be at only a slight advance over the cost, a special price being made to Grangers, and the profits will be taken care of by dividends which will go to the stockholders, who are all members of the Grange. The movement for coöperation among the Granges seems to be reviving throughout the East. This is the second Grange store in Maine organized within the year, and several Massachusetts Granges are seriously planning to start coöperative stores.

#### **Chicago Packers' Profit-Sharing Plan.**

ON January 1, 1909, the huge packing firm of Morris & Company, of Chicago, put into operation a most comprehensive employes' profit-sharing system. The plan, which has been worked out by Edward Morris, president of the company, will be participated in by 10,000 employes of both the main and subsidiary companies, and the annual pension disbursements are expected to be about \$100,000 at the start. The fund is to be raised by an annual contribution by the company of \$25,000 until the fund reaches \$500,000, and three per cent. of the salary of every employé who wishes to take part. All members must have been with the company for six months and draw a minimum weekly salary of \$10, and none may pay in an amount to exceed \$7,500.

#### **Cleveland Shoe Company.**

THE Hamilton-Brown Shoe Company of Cleveland, which employs 5,000 shoemakers, allows its employes six per cent. interest on the money which they put into the business, and as a result of this the deposits of the workmen amount to \$150,000, and many of them have secured stock. The result is that the entire 250 stockholders of the company, except widows of workingmen, are directly employed by the company. Seven large factories with a weekly payroll of \$50,000 are engaged in manufacturing the company's products, of which the chief are the American Lady and the American Gentleman shoes. One hundred and fifty salesmen are employed in putting these shoes on the market.

**Employment Union.**

IN Detroit there is an organization known as the American Coöperative Employment Union, which provides for old-age pensions and annuities to widows and orphans and secures employment for members out of work. They are planning to incorporate a general merchandise store to be run coöperatively.

**Women Form Co-operative Company.**

A CHARTER authorizing the formation of a coöperative company was issued in January at the capitol at Harrisburg to twenty-five Phila-

delphians, twenty-two of whom were women. The company is to be known as the Unity Shirt Manufacturing Company, and has \$5,000 capital. Bertha Cooperstein of South Fourth street is the treasurer.

**Finis.**

THE Union Coöperative and Protective Association of Chicago includes among its other activities the conducting of funerals of union men. Recently the company has decided to extend its business to the making of caskets.

HAZEL HAMMOND ALBERTSON.

**PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION NEWS.**

BY ROBERT TYSON,

Secretary of the American Proportional Representation League.

**The Proposed Oregon Law.**

**F**OLLOWING up the constitutional amendment which introduced the single vote and permitted Proportional Representation, a proposed law is being introduced into the Oregon state legislature, and Mr. W. S. U'Ren has favored me with a copy. Its title is:

"A Bill for an Act making effective the Proportional Representation Provisions of Section 16 of Article 2 of the Constitution of Oregon in the election of Representatives and Senators in the Legislative Assembly, and regulating elections thereunder, and repealing all Acts and parts of Acts in conflict with this Act, in so far as they conflict therewith."

I shall simply endeavor to present the salient points of the proposed law without following its sections and detail. It is the Free List plan, with Single Vote, and a state quota, as follows:

"1. Present electoral districts are retained. Most of them are multiple districts, from which several members are elected.

"2. Each elector has one vote only for representative, and one vote only for Senator.

"3. The whole number of votes cast in the state for representatives in the legislative assembly shall be divided by sixty, which is the total number of representatives to be elected. The quotient, disregarding fractions, shall be the number of votes which insures election, and shall be called the quota of representation.

"4. The whole number of votes cast in all the representative districts of the state for all the candidates of each party for representative shall be severally divided by the quota of representation. The quotients shall be the total number of representatives to which each party shall respectively be entitled in the legislative assembly as the result of that election. This result is obtained as follows:

"5. The whole number of votes in each representative district cast for the candidates of each party in that district for representative shall be severally divided by the quota of representation, and the quotients will show the number of representatives to which each party is entitled from that district.

"6. Votes shall be transferred in the local districts as follows: Any candidate having a quota of votes is elected. No candidate shall retain more than a quota of votes. Surplus votes of any candidate, over and above his quota, are transferred from him to that candidate of his party who has not yet a quota, but who has otherwise the highest number of votes. When all the surplus votes are thus disposed of, the lowest candidates of the party are cut off, one by one, and their votes transferred to the candidates of the same party who stand highest without a quota, until the seats are filled to which each party is entitled in that district.

"7. Besides the 29 local districts, a district is formed, consisting of all the counties of the

state, called the Thirtieth District. In each local district there will be 'remainders,' because the number of seats to be filled will never divide exactly into the number of votes cast. These remainders will all be credited in the Thirtieth District to the party to which they belong, and where the remainders of any party constitute a quota, that party will be credited with an additional seat, presumably to be filled by the highest unsuccessful candidate of that party in any local district.

"8. Voters are entitled to write in the names of party or of independent candidates not previously nominated. These written votes are all credited in the general district (the Thirtieth) and help to make up quotas along with the 'remainders' referred to in paragraph 7.

"9. Senators are elected on precisely the same principle as representatives, except that only fifteen are to be elected instead of sixty."

This is a most ingenious adaptation of the List System, and does great credit to its originators. It gets rid of the troublesome inequality of remainders in small districts, by making a state quota and a state clearing-house for "remainders." It also gets rid of the defects of the "single untransferable vote" by its provision for transfers within the parties.

#### Hare-Spence in The Labor Council.

THE Toronto District Labor Council elects officers and committees twice a year, and does it on the Hare-Spence system of Proportional Representation. I am usually invited to assist. The last election took place on January 21, 1909, when three trustees and three auditors were elected, and also a label committee of six, and two other committees of five each. Ninety-eight men voted. The ballot papers were printed in two "parts," three ballots on each part. This permitted two sets of election officials to be concurrently at work.

The election proceedings opened by Chairman Kennedy calling upon me for some explanatory remarks, chiefly for the benefit of new delegates unacquainted with the system. The ballots were then distributed, marked by the voters, and collected.

Four scrutineers or tellers (including myself) then sat down at a table in the meeting-room, in order to demonstrate the system by counting one election in public; while the other set of tellers retired to an ante-room to count the ballots of their own three elections.

The contest chosen for public demonstra-

tion was the election of three trustees, there being six candidates. Each voter having marked the candidates on his ballot with the figures 1, 2, 3, etc., in the order of his choice, the count began by sorting out the ballots according to the first choices, paying no heed to the other figures. This gave the following result:

Corcoran.....	41
Sinclair.....	19
McFadyen.....	13
Barron.....	9
Storey.....	8
Thompson.....	8
	<hr/>
	98

The quota (the number of votes to ensure election) was next found by dividing into 98 the three seats to be filled, giving a quote of 32. Corcoran was therefore elected on first choice, with a surplus of nine votes. Nine ballots were taken at random from Corcoran's pile and were distributed amongst such of the remaining candidates as had been marked second choice thereon by the figure 2. Seven of these votes went to Barron, and put him ahead of McFadyen, who had only 13 originally.

The next process was to eliminate candidates from the bottom of the poll upwards. Thompson went out first, his eight votes being distributed amongst the other candidates according to second choice, unless the second choice happened to be Corcoran, who could not use it; in which case the third choice was taken instead. Storey and McFadyen went out successively, leaving only Sinclair and Barron on the board; so these two joined Corcoran as election trustees. Barron had nine votes transferred to him, and Sinclair 12, making their respective totals 18 and 31. Each trustee was elected by a separate and distinct group of voters.

The tellers of Part I. then retired and finished their work in an ante-room. All the elections went off satisfactorily.

A great deal of time is saved by the use of the Hare-Spence system as compared with the old one, because only one name has to be tallied from each ballot, instead of three, five or six, as the case might be, on the old plan.

#### The English Model Election.

ONE OF the biggest things ever done in the way of an illustrative election was put through in England last December. Fourteen daily newspapers published ballot papers, and a few thousand were circulated besides. Nearly

twenty-two thousand ballots were marked and sent in to be counted on the Hare-Spence system. Twelve candidates had been chosen, of whom five were to be elected.

The first duty of the returning officer was to ascertain the total number of votes polled by each candidate, each ballot paper being a vote for the candidate marked 1 thereon. This was a simple task, which took about an hour and a quarter, and yielded the following result:

Aaguth (Liberal).....	9,042
Balfour (Unionist).....	4,478
Lloyd-George (Liberal).....	2,751
Macdonald (Labor).....	2,124
Henderson (Labor).....	1,038
Long (Unionist).....	672
Hugh Cecil (Unionist Free Trader).....	460
Shackleton (Labor).....	398
Burt (Liberal).....	200
Leif Jones (Liberal).....	191
Smith (Unionist).....	164
Joynson-Hicks (Unionist).....	94
Total.....	21,672

The subsequent processes were on the general principle of the elections of the Labor Council elections above described, but were more elaborate and complete. The quota was found by dividing six (instead of five) into the votes cast, and then adding one to the quotient. The surplus votes were not taken at random, but allotted proportionally on a simple mathematical calculation. I will not go into detail, but will conclude by some pertinent general observations made by the monthly magazine, *Representation*, as follows:

"The system of the single transferable vote, though it is in use for parliamentary purposes in Tasmania, is worked by trade unionists in Canada, by miners in Northumberland, and by medical men in London, had never before been tested on so large a scale. The experiment was a complete success; the practicability of the method of counting, when applied to large numbers of electors, was demonstrated, and abundant evidence furnished of the ease with which the elector performs his task. Of

the imaginary constituency of 21,690 voters, only 18 'spoilt' their papers, and of the 18, one at any rate spoilt his vote, not from any difficulty of the system of voting, but because of a settled resolve at all costs to vote for Mr. Victor Grayson, who did not happen to be a candidate. To supporters of the system this was no surprise. No voter of the most ordinary intelligence ever has had any difficulty in performing his part. Indeed, a story is now being told of an enthusiastic supporter of Proportional Representation in South Africa who recently experimented with the single transferable vote at a model election on his own farm with his servants and Kaffirs for voters, and who found that not a single vote had gone astray.

"If the voter had no difficulty, equally the returning officer and his assistants performed their task without a hitch.

"The 21,672 valid votes were all counted and transferred, and the election worked out in the six hours between 6 P.M. and midnight by a party of some 40 voluntary helpers, to whose labors of love it would be hard to give too high praise. The old unreasoning objection that the system is too complicated for human beings to work may thus be dismissed once and for all."

The full story of this remarkable election as told in the December issue of *Representation*, should be read by every one interested in improved electoral methods. It is told in a graphic, simple style, and contains much valuable detail. About four cents in English postage stamps, forwarded to the Proportional Representation Society, at 28 Martin's Lane, Cannon street, London, E. C., will bring it to you; or you may send United States stamps to me, at 10 Harbord street, Toronto, Canada, and I will see that you get a copy.

ROBERT TYSON.

Toronto, Canada.



## THE NOVELS OF GEORGE MEREDITH\*

A BOOK-STUDY.

By B. O. FLOWER.

THE AUTHOR of this valuable critical work is a member of the faculty of Cornell University, where he is instructor in literature. The present volume is an important contribution to contemporary criticism dealing with the literary work of leading Anglo-Saxons of the last century.

Mr. Bailey is at once critical and sympathetic. He is broadly judicial and has the grasp of a master in treating his subject—something all too rare in the studies of literature by most of our American writers in the present strenuous day, wherein the work of the superficial and uncritical, when it is bright and epigrammatic, frequently shoulders out the more painstaking and authoritative criticisms. It must not be inferred from this, however, that this book is prosy or pedantic. Far from it. The treatment is such as to delight even the general reader, if he has a taste for literary subjects and any knowledge of the fiction of the Victorian era.

After an introduction in which the probable permanence of Meredith's fame is considered and the distinctive periods of his literary career are pointed out, Mr. Bailey passes to the discussion of his writings. The body of the work is mainly concerned with Mr. Meredith's career during the periods which the author aptly divides into those of "The Apprentice," "The Journeyman," and "The Master-Workman."

In his chapter considering Mr. Meredith as an apprentice, we have a brief but illuminating and informing pen-picture of the literary England of the first half of the nineteenth century; or, to be more exact, a description of the poets and novelists of this period. Here also is a brief discriminating examination of Mr. Meredith's early poems; and in passing let us note that though the volume only claims to be a study of Mr. Meredith's novels, many pages are enriched by criticisms of his poetry, with

numerous charming illustrative selections. *The Shaving of Shagpat* and *Farina* are noticed somewhat at length as being the two principal works of the apprentice period.

In the chapter on the journeyman period, *The Ordeal of Richard Feverel*, *Evan Harrington*, *Sandra Belloni*, *Vittoria* and *Rhoda Fleming* come in for the author's critical consideration. The pages devoted to the first two of these works are of special interest, although the entire treatment of the novels of Mr. Meredith cannot fail to prove a genuine delight to lovers of good literature; for here is seen the careful and firm grasp of one who is not only a master of subject but whose knowledge of the great characters in the contemporary fiction of England is such as to enable him to make most interesting comparisons and thus assemble a number of old friends to the general reader in such a way as to materially add to his interest in Mr. Meredith's creations. In the following lines we have Mr. Meredith's two great early novels briefly compared and characterized, or at least the dominant note of each clearly sounded in such a way as to afford the reader an idea of the style of our author and the succinct manner in which he summarizes after he has considered his subjects in detail:

"*The Ordeal of Richard Feverel* is a tragedy—a tragedy, indeed, in the Shakespearean manner. This means not simply that the reader is led into the presence of death, but that the heart-racking catastrophe of the end is foreshadowed at the very beginning. The tragic note sounds with no uncertain tone in the earliest pages, and from then on it is persistently repeated with increasing intensity until it becomes the knell tolling the few years of Lucy's troubled life. Not for a moment in reading the book, not even in its humorous scenes, is one allowed to deceive oneself with the hope that in some miraculous way the outcome may be happy. Instead, there seizes upon the reader that kind of frenzy which

\*"The Novels of George Meredith: A Study." By Elmer Jerome Bailey. Cloth. Pp. 226. Price, \$1.25 net. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

lays its grasp upon him as he watches the unrelenting advancement of the plot against Cordelia, or the ravaging progress of the feud which deflowered the houses of Capulet and Montague. Convinced for the time that the woes of Richard and Lucy are real, one feels that one must turn back the wheels of fate, that the inevitable must not be.

"Meredith's second novel, therefore, *Evan Harrington*, stands in almost as great contrast with the book immediately preceding it as that with the writings of its author's apprenticeship. The tragic element is practically eliminated, for although Juliana Bonner's death brings about the union of the man whom she loves with the woman of his choice, her story awakens no more than a quickly-passing impulse of pity. The woes of the unfortunate Susan Wheedle are but faintly outlined, and are included probably for no other reason than to show the kindness of Evan's heart; and finally the unhappy lot of the beautiful and attractive Caroline Strike is perhaps purposely but little more than mentioned, that the story of her temptation and escape may not seriously interfere with the gradual unfolding of Evan's rise to true manhood, or with the mirth-provoking treatment of the complications surrounding the Countess de Saldar. The book, indeed, is pervaded by humor of every sort, the extravagant, the grotesque, the refined, the delicate, the subtle, and the funny, until it would seem that Meredith is on the point of breaking through the bounds of what in the drama would be called legitimate comedy, and of permitting himself to revel for a time in the fields of hilarious farce. But as a matter of fact, he is ever mindful of the demands of true proportion; and consequently, never degenerating into the harlequin, he can force home, despite his fun, the serious lesson of the hollow foolishness which lies in attempting to appear what one is not."

And in the following we have an excellent illustration of a characteristic of the work to which we have referred—Mr. Bailey's comparison of the Meredith characters with those of well-known volumes by leading novelists of the day:

"Different as Meredith's first two novels are in most respects, however, the second is like the first to the extent of presenting three or four characters somewhat suggestive of those found in the writings of other authors. John

Raikes, for instance, it has been said by some critic, might easily have been created by Thackeray; but such a statement shows a strange forgetfulness of the words and ways of Dick Swiveller in *The Old Curiosity Shop*; and certainly the solicitous care and the deferential respect which Evan's old school friend has for his much-worn hat vividly recalls the outward appearance though not the swindling nature of Mr. Tigg, the shabby-genteel gentleman in *Martin Chuzzlewit*. The Cogglesby brothers, too, unlike the Cheeryble twins as they are in many respects, must still suggest Nicholas Nickleby's benefactors, in their kindness of heart, their delight in dry jokes, and their sly plans for helping the deserving and circumventing the insincere. The chapters in which these two men carry out a conspiracy to reduce the pride of old Harrington's daughters—a conspiracy only too successful since Andrew found himself caught in his own trap—is like Dickens almost at his best in the humorous; and the first chapter, also, in which the inn-keeper, the butcher, and the confectioner discuss the death of the tailor is reminiscent of Dickens, but of Dickens rarified, sublimated and refined."

In summarizing the chapter dealing with the journeyman period, our author observes:

"To regard *Evan Harrington* and the three novels succeeding it as no better than the silt washed down by the gold-bearing river would be to do them manifest injustice; yet it is little doubtful, that in many respects, each of these stories, when viewed in its entirety, is inferior to *The Ordeal of Richard Feverel*. That book, far from successful as it was in attracting readers at the time of its appearance, now stands out even among the great novels of Meredith's famous contemporaries as a piece of rare workmanship. Still, the later books, when taken in contrast with the first, exhibit in matters of detail a greater firmness of touch, a more confident breadth of sweep, a surer consciousness of power, indicative of growth in both strength and wisdom. Furthermore, however much or little the influence of other novelists may be truly assumed to have dyed the earlier textures woven in the looms of Meredith's thought, the last fabric which he drew out as a journeyman was beyond all question or suspicion wholly his own. The five years of silence which followed have been mistakenly regarded by some as a period of dissatisfaction and contempt with a world which would not

read his books. Rather should it be looked upon as a time of rest preceding great achievement. At all events, when *The Adventures of Harry Richmond* appeared in 1871, a change had occurred in its author: the journeyman had become a master-workman."

These lines are interesting not only for what they say, but as illustrative of the critical spirit that marks the volume and the fine sense of proportion that continually delights the discriminating reader. The book is full of helpful suggestive hints for the earnest and ambitious young reader, which, however, form a natural and indeed a necessary part of a volume at once comprehensive, critical and philosophical in character. The following lines introducing Mr. Bailey's consideration of Mr. Meredith as the master-workman afford an illustration in point:

"The career of the artisan is largely determined by the continuous coöperation of two forces—power and ambition. Either without the other scarcely ever produces a resultant of any appreciable value, but when the two forces are properly balanced, they are mutually corrective, since the possession of power tends to prevent idle dreaming, and a clearly perceived goal is an incentive to perseverance. Now, not all of those whose fortune it is to become journeymen preserve the balance of inner forces, which leads eventually to master-workmanship. Either there is a lack of true proportion between their ambition and their power, or their vision for some reason becoming dull, they are content to sit down by the highway rather than to follow it to the end. Others, however, press on to complete success. Now and then, a man reconciles himself in the days of his apprenticeship to the hard labor, the disciplinary task, and the irksome command, because he is wise enough to see that endurance of these things is necessary to his training. In the succeeding years, when as journeyman he is to a large extent his own master, but still has to listen to the orders of an employer, he does not fall into discouragement because of harsh and perhaps unjust criticism, nor does he permit himself to rest satisfied with his past accomplishments because they have called out approving or flattering commendations. On the contrary, too self-confident to be over-depressed, and too sane to be unduly elated, he gathers strength from within and from without to strive still for the full realization of his purpose; until

at last having reached the goal, he has the right to say, with that mingled humility and pride which is true greatness,

"I stand on my attainment."

The two long chapters containing the careful studies of Meredith's work after he became in the critic's judgment a master-workman, are exceptionally interesting because of the fine discernment and breadth of thought which mark every page. We have now entered a period of realized ambition. For over two decades Meredith's novels will be richly worth the while. It, too, is a period that is susceptible of division into two parts: the time when his invention allowed itself full play, followed by a period in which his interest "concentrated itself upon problems presented by ill-assorted marriage." Earlier in the work the author has admirably characterized the novels which marked these master-workman days, as follows:

"The third decade, separated from the second by two years of silence, began in 1871 with *The Adventures of Harry Richmond*, and was still further marked by the publication of *Beauchamp's Career* in 1876, *The Egoist* in 1879, and *The Tragic Comedians* in 1880. These novels show almost no traces of any other writer's influence, and may therefore be regarded as belonging to a period of free invention; but if emphasis is laid upon their philosophical content, since they present studies of selfishness or, to use Emerson's term—'selfism,' they may be looked upon as having been produced during the period of attack upon egoism.

"After the publication of *The Tragic Comedians*, Meredith permitted a lustrum to pass before he entered upon the final period of his activity as novelist. Like the novels of the preceding decade, those of this time, *Diana of the Crossways*, published in 1885, *One of Our Conquerors* in 1891, *Lord Ormont and His Aminta* in 1894, and *The Amazing Marriage* in 1895, present no striking instances of outside influence; but since they center themselves around a single problem, the unhappy marriage, they may be said to belong to the period of concentrated interest. Furthermore, since each of the novels in this group is a study of the separation of a husband and a wife through troubles arising from incompatibility of temper, disparity of age, or inequality of rank, and since Meredith apparently approves of the



parting of man and wife under such circumstances, the works of the last decade belong to the period of attack upon conventional ideas of marriage."

In his later criticism he observes:

"The eight novels of the whole period are alike in that they show their author to be completely emancipated from any obvious outside influence; but, none the less, the grouped works of these two decades of later composition are so strongly distinguished from each other in many respects, that either may be made the subject of separate observation.

"The third period of Meredith's literary production, then, may be characterized as 'free' in two senses of the word: free, in that the writer was no longer hampered by the study of models; free, also, from the much higher and more important point-of-view that he showed himself possessed of a range of vision, a power of analysis, and an originality of style, which gave him a unique place among English novelists."

The criticism of each of the great novels, the brief but illuminating characterization of the leading characters, the comparisons of certain personages with notable figures in contemporaneous or preceding master-works, are only second in interest to the author's keen analysis of Mr. Meredith's ethical thought and artistic treatment.

"He is a realist," observes the critic, "in the sternest sense of the term; and his problem is the presentation of man and woman in the making, of man and woman struggling, albeit with many reverses, toward that perfection of soul which Meredith himself believes is the purpose and secret of this world's existence.

"His hope was to make mankind see that passion must be subdued to intellect before there can be any great growth of soul.

"It is of some interest, then, to know that Meredith is an extreme Liberal in politics and is wholly out of sympathy with the existence of an aristocratic class and of an established church. He even goes so far as to speak in approval of women being granted the right of suffrage, thus taking ground in advance of many of his own party."

In his study of *The Egoist* the author makes this illuminating observation touching one characteristic of Mr. Meredith's work, which we cite because it is one of the few striking features of his novels which cannot be ignored

if one would understand his work and also the reason for the extremely divergent and positive opinions in regard to it entertained by able thinkers of recognized ability:

"The story is vouched for by Stevenson, that a sensitive youth went to Meredith with the complaint that he had been held up to ridicule in the person of Sir Willoughby Patterne. 'You are mistaken,' said the great novelist in reply, 'the Egoist is not you, he is all of us.' This fact, that Meredith's readers are almost always driven to self-analysis, is perhaps the chief cause of his being called a pessimist and a cynic. To see our neighbors under the lash contributes mightily to our amusement no doubt, and goes far to awakening a spirit of thankfulness that we are not as others are; but our laughter grows hollow and our satisfaction ceases, when we feel the flick of the whip upon our own shoulders. Yet it is to a full realization of the value of looking upon oneself in a humorous or even a ludicrous light, that Meredith would bring every man. In that, he believes, rests the hope for the future, whether of the person or of the race; for if a man can look upon himself and his deeds with healthy laughter, there is little danger of his becoming sour or morbid; and whatever his failure, he will be able to learn from his mistakes and to determine with renewed strength not to bequeath to posterity a tumbled house.

"The reason, therefore, why *The Egoist* gives us pause is, not that it is unreal, but that it is too real. It is a scourging, a flagellation, a cutting to the quick."

In making a sweeping survey of the fictional work of Mr. Meredith, which concludes his review of the third decade of his literary labors, Mr. Bailey says:

"With the publication of *The Tragic Comedians* in book form, late in 1880, Meredith closed the third decade of his literary career, the period of free range. From many points of view the ten years thus designated may be looked upon as the most important part of his life as author. The several works then produced evinced a sense of proportion, a consciousness of mastery, a disregard of arbitrary methods, which could not be unreservedly predicated of him in 1869 when his work as a journeyman was brought to an end. On the other hand, although it cannot be denied that he remained in full possession of all his powers through that later period which may be termed



the decade of concentrated interest, the very fact that there was a limitation of range made it clear that in all probability the time of expansion was over, and that thereafter whatever energy remained in store would endeavor to put itself forth not in outspreading branch nor in upreaching stem, but rather in leaf and fruit and flower. At all events, the following decade of Meredith's literary career was not noted for the production of any such remarkable story as *The Ordeal of Richard Feverel*, or of any such unusual study of character as *The Egoist*; but it was marked by the publication of *Diana of the Crossways*, a novel which gained immediate popularity, and by the appearance of three other sustained works of fiction which attracted a respectful audience, if they did not earn undivided admiration. The battle had been long and hard, but few felt safe in denying that Meredith had proved himself a conqueror. Clearly his rightful place was among the leaders, in company with Dickens and Thackeray and George Eliot."

In the early part of the concluding essay, in which the novels of the final period—the time of concentrated thought on the marriage problem—are considered, Mr. Bailey says:

"During the decade beginning in 1885, he felt moved to produce four sustained pieces of fiction which may be said to belong to a period of concentrated interest, inasmuch as each of them dealt with complexities rising out of an unsuitable marriage. In *Diana of the Crossways* is given the story of a woman, who, marrying without love, was afterward separated from her husband and made to take an anomalous and unhappy position before the world; in *One of Our Conquerors* is presented a study of the attitude taken by society towards a man and woman living together in a union unsanctioned by church and state, but regarded, none the less, as sacred by the two chiefly concerned; and in *Lord Ormont and His Aminta* and also in *The Amazing Marriage*, the reader is confronted with the unhappiness which results from a marked discrepancy between husband and wife in matters of rank, age or inclination. With the possible exception of the second, these four stories amply repay those who read simply to be amused, but for others who look upon the novelist as having a mission beyond that of giving mere pleasure, they furnish in addition much food for thought.

"It may be concluded from these facts that

Meredith found in certain phases of the marriage relation some of the gravest problems furnished by modern society. That he looked upon the questions as being more than a mere source of material for the novelist, is certainly shown by the fact that long after he had ceased the formal writing of fiction, he permitted himself to speak upon them at some length."

The author is by no means blind to Mr. Meredith's shortcomings. Here, for example, is an excellent criticism of the novelist's faulty style:

"Meredith, however, seemed often to prefer the involved to the simple, the ornate to the plain; and in *One of Our Conquerors* the tendency certainly became an obsession. The reader is not told in so many words that Radnor kissed his wife, but that 'he performed his never-omitted lover's homage'; Mr. Fenellan did not drink the Old Veuve, but 'crushed a delicious gulp of the wine that foamed along the channel of flavor'; Skepsay, instead of feeling the size and hardness of the butcher's arm, 'performed the national homage to muscle'; and in giving a cordial greeting to Lady Grace, 'Victor's festival-lights were kindled, beholding her; cressets on the window-sill, lamps inside.' Such writing, it cannot be denied, is both bewildering and exasperating to almost every reader; and Meredith, therefore, had no just cause of complaint if his own joy in weaving such fantastic garments for his thought was his chief reward. Certainly after the publication of *One of Our Conquerors*, many of his old readers fell away or at most contented themselves with memories of what he had written before, while the younger generation who, like Sarah Battle, occasionally found time to turn aside from whist-playing and to unbend the mind over a book, took no special pleasure in anything which Meredith had to say."

The closing pages are devoted to a consideration of the probable permanence of Mr. Meredith's fame. Space prevents our quoting more than the following brief fragments of this admirable piece of criticism:

"In general, of course, it is always hazardous to prophesy the permanence of any man's fame; still, from at least one point-of-view, it can be asserted without hesitation that Meredith's name must be remembered as long as English literature shall endure. Unlike most other writers whose real influence has been

felt only by some subsequent generation, Meredith has permeated the work of his contemporaries. By this is meant that he has awakened such general respect as to make him acceptable without envy to the other novelists of at least his later years. They acknowledge his superiority, they look upon him as unapproachable, they call him Master. In evidence of this, one may note the fact that in present discussions of novels the critic nearly always refers to George Meredith as a standard of measurement. Nor, indeed, is that the only use to which the great writer and his novels are put.

"But to not a few of his readers, Meredith seems deserving of much more than the kind of immortality which rests upon the mention of his name by other authors and upon the formative influence obviously exerted by his writings. The knowledge of what must be is greatedened in the minds of many by faith in what will be: and when that faith is put to trial, they are far from feeling that it is without a substantial basis in reason. Still, if such have learned anything from their reading of the man whom they delight to honor, they hesitate to name his absolute place. Whatever the impulse of the heart, they know that it should be tempered by the working of the brain; and they therefore do not undertake to assert more than that Meredith must be regarded as no unworthy companion of the greatest English novelists. If the sneer of the critic accuses them of having but faint confidence in their belief, they are not betrayed into fruitless wrangling or loud defense. Serenely unmoved, they let Meredith speak for himself. Surely no just man can find fault with the intermingling of honest pride and sincere humility behind that sonnet, to which Meredith, writing in his middle age, gave the name of 'Internal Harmony.'

"Assured of worthiness we do not dread Competitors; we rather give them hail

And greeting in the lists where we may fail:  
Must, if we bear an aim beyond the head!  
My betters are my masters: purely fed  
By their sustainment I likewise shall scale  
Some rocky steps between the mount and vale;  
Meanwhile the mark I have and I will wed.  
So that I draw the breath of finer air,  
Station is naught, nor footways laurel-strewn,  
Nor rivals tightly belted for the race.  
Good speed to them! My place is here or there;  
My pride is that among them I have place:  
And thus I keep this instrument in tune.'

"Truly such calm self-analysis explains the remarkable patience with which Meredith awaits the decision of the wise years. If in the words of Lowell,

"Some innate weakness there must be  
In him who condescends to victory  
Such as the present gives and cannot wait  
Safe in himself as in a fate.'

Meredith through the absence of such weakness, shows himself endowed with noble strength and manly power. A prophet, it has been said, is not without honor save in his own country; and with equal truth, it might have been added, save in his own time. It is the privilege of Meredith's friends, therefore, to keep silence; for, looking back from the present through the long period of his activity, and realizing once more the calm confidence which enabled him to go on with his work in the face of indifference, opposition and contempt, we well may say:

"He knew to bide his time,  
And can his fame abide."

The work as a whole is one of the most excellent and informing short volumes of literary criticism we have read in months. It will doubtless tend to create a new interest in George Meredith's novels on this side of the Atlantic. To us it is the source of genuine pleasure that America is producing young men capable of such fine work in literary criticism as marks this volume.

B. O. FLOWER.

*Boston, Massachusetts.*

## BOOKS OF THE DAY.

*Some New Literary Valuations.* By Professor William Cleaver Wilkinson. Cloth. Pp. 412. Price, \$1.50 net. New York: Funk & Wagnalls Company.

THIS volume is one of the few really important works of literary criticism that have appeared on this side of the Atlantic during the past six months. Professor Wilkinson is the author of several notable works in poetry and prose. He holds the chair of Poetry and Criticism in the University of Chicago, and is a man of more than ordinary power and imagination.

The work of a professional critic naturally invites more rigid criticism than that of the busy worker or the prophet burdened with a great message whose moral import overbalances all considerations of literary form. Hence it may not be presumptuous at the outset to point to some shortcomings in the work of Professor Wilkinson. He inclines to verbosity or over-emphasis of his thought—a weakness quite understandable when we remember that he is a teacher, but rather irritating to the general reader who mentally resents the implication of dullness of comprehension. He inclines to too sweeping characterizations, which are usually immediately modified by almost equally strong observations of an entirely different character. One instance of this character will suffice to illustrate this point. In the opening paragraph of his really masterly essay on Tolstoi we find the following:

"The temptation is strong to be extravagant, or at least so to express myself as to seem extravagant, in treating my present subject. However, having passed through several successive stages of opinion, or of impression, respecting his work, I cannot, I think, be premature now in declaring Tolstoi for me one of the very greatest minds to be encountered in literature. Shall I seem immediately to recall this sentence, if I add that the one thing lacking to complete greatness in Tolstoi is final soundness and justness of judgment?"

Here the interest raised in the reader by the opening lines is instantly dashed by the concluding sentence, especially since it is remembered that Tolstoi is preëminently a moral enthusiast or a prophet of social righteousness.

If, therefore, he is wanting in "final soundness and justness of judgment," his work will necessarily be lacking in the chief essential element of serious consideration. We imagine that Professor Wilkinson would strongly resent the suggestion that the message or the ethics of the Great Nazarene as given in the Sermon on the Mount should be lacking in "final soundness and justness of judgment"; yet it is squarely upon these ethics and the frank and unqualified acceptance of the teachings of the Nazarene that Count Tolstoi's teachings rest.

Again, it must be confessed that at times our author seems to be hampered by the restrictive influence of religious prejudice. This is markedly conspicuous in his essay entitled "John Morley as Critic of Voltaire and Diderot," and it seems to us to be also present in his criticism of Matthew Arnold. His work as a critic has also developed, it seems to us, the unfortunate tendency, very common in teachers of literary criticism—that of hunting for the motes and giving them undue emphasis in such a way as to interfere with the proper valuation of the work as a whole.

In spite of these defects, however, the present volume contains so much that is of real value that it merits wide circulation and will materially broaden and enrich the culture of the general reader. The opening and closing essays are of special interest and worth.

The volume contains seven chapters in which the author considers "William Dean Howells as Man of Letters," "Matthew Arnold as Critic and as Poet," "Tennyson as Artist in Lyric Verse," "Edmund Clarence Stedman as Man of Letters," "John Morley as Critic of Voltaire and Diderot," and "Tolstoi."

The essay on Mr. Howells is very charming. The author is a sincere admirer of the distinguished American novelist, but is evidently afraid from time to time that his enthusiasm for Mr. Howells will impair his critical judgment—a fear not evident at other times, we think, especially when he is considering Arnold, Tennyson and Morley.

One at times may be pardoned if he becomes impatient at citations from a writer like Morley, for example, which imply glaring inconsistencies; yet in some at least of the

writer's citations, it is quite conceivable that Mr. Morley had different ideas in his mind when he used expressions that might be construed so as to appear as inconsistent statements. Then again, all persons possessing such luxuriant imagination as John Morley, who have written voluminously and whose minds are sensitive to the sway of others' thoughts or to the intellectual atmosphere that at a given time environs the critic, are liable to reflect opinions shaded with the thought that at the moment appeals strongly to the reason and imagination. This, of course, is unfortunate when the writer is a critic, where the judicial quality is demanded as a master element; but it is a fault that should not be made too much of when considering the work of a master of such consummate ability as Mr. Morley. To us it seems that the fact that Mr. Morley is a positivist and that Professor Wilkinson strongly dissents from the intellectual opinions of both critic and criticized, influences unduly his critical opinion when considering Mr. Morley in this paper.

To our mind the best essay in the volume is that devoted to Tolstoi. If the reader is not discouraged by the first paragraph, which we quote above, he will soon become engrossed in and delighted with the sympathetic and, on the whole, discriminating criticism which follows. Few American writers, we think, have in the compass of a critical essay better estimated Tolstoi as an influence in the world of letters and moral idealism than has Professor Wilkinson in this paper.

*Abraham Lincoln.* By Brand Whitlock. With frontispiece in sepia. Cloth. Pp. 205. Price, 50 cents. Boston: Small, Maynard & Company.

*Lincoln's Love Story.* By Eleanor Atkinson. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 60. Price, 50 cents net. New York: Doubleday, Page & Company.

*The Death of Lincoln.* By Clara E. Laughlin. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 336. Price, \$1.50 net. New York: Doubleday, Page & Company.

THE ABOVE are three valuable additions to the literature dealing with the life, work and death of Abraham Lincoln, America's greatest democratic commoner—the President who, after Thomas Jefferson, more clearly taught and practiced the principles of fundamental democratic government than any of the chief magistrates the nation has known.

Mr. Brand Whitlock's brief biography of Lincoln is the latest issue of the little series of Beacon Biographies, and is, in our judgment, the best brief short life of Lincoln that has yet appeared. Mr. Whitlock is the noble-hearted successor of Samuel M. Jones, the Golden-Rule Mayor of Toledo. He embodies the Lincoln spirit in as great a measure as any man in public life to-day. Hence he is peculiarly well fitted to write understandingly of his subject. Like Lincoln, Mr. Whitlock is a fundamental democrat, and he happily touches upon many things that the recreant present-day Republicans who are seeking to destroy the ideals of Lincoln in the interests of privileged wealth while pretending to revere the memory of the martyred President, would like to have forgotten. Thus, for example, he quotes from Lincoln's address to the electorate when he was running for the Illinois legislature as follows:

"If elected, I shall consider the whole people of Sangamon my constituents, as well those that oppose as those that support me. While acting as their representative I shall be governed by their will on all subjects upon which I have the means of knowing what their will is."

In commenting on this, Mr. Whitlock observes:

"Always fundamentally democratic, he was so close to the heart of humanity that intuitively he measured its mighty pulsations, and believed that the public mind was not far from right. Years afterward, expressing his belief in the people's judgment, as the one authority in affairs, he asked, 'Is there any better or equal hope?'"

The biography is written in an engaging style, simple, direct and calculated to hold the reader's interest throughout by the charm of the writer's directness, sincerity and sympathy in dealing with one of the greatest and most truly sincere and simple lives known to history.

In *Lincoln's Love Story* Eleanor Atkinson has given us an exquisite little narrative of the tragic romance that mellowed, softened and deepened Lincoln's life. His love for beautiful Ann Rutledge and his agony of soul after her death is vividly and feelingly presented, as well as the pathetic struggle of the young girl, the battle between her Puritan conscience and the promptings of her heart, which culminated in brain fever that proved fatal. The volume is beautifully illustrated.



In *The Death of Lincoln*, by Clara E. Laughlin, we have the story of Booth's plot, his deed and the penalty, dealt with in a luminous, circumstantial and authoritative manner. The author has drawn facts from a mass of hidden material and the accounts of eye-witnesses among survivors, that have enabled her to throw considerable additional light on one of the most tragic pages of our history—a page around which there has been an amazing amount of uncertainty and mystery, when one considers the nature of the crime and the strenuous efforts made to bring to light all facts bearing upon the case. The author possesses an admirable style and has threaded together the facts and evidence in her possession in such a manner as to make an absorbingly interesting volume. One hundred and thirty odd pages are devoted to appendices of evidential value.

*Profit and Loss in Man.* By Professor Alphonso A. Hopkins, Ph.D. 12mo. Cloth. Pp. 377. Price, \$1.20 net; postpaid, \$1.30. New York: Funk & Wagnalls Company.

THE ADVOCATES of the liquor traffic have been driven back until they have but two arguments behind which they hope to defend themselves, personal liberty and business. The first because of its manifest insincerity and because it proves too much is fast being abandoned by the wiser of the whiskey men. The temperance people must not underestimate the power of this last resort of the saloon. It is not powerful because of any inherent strength, but because it appeals to the spirit of greed and financial gain in men. As the personal liberty plea is false, so is the plea that business will be harmed by the destruction of the liquor traffic false. The only ones who profit financially by the liquor traffic are the dealers; it means serious financial loss to the consumers and the community. The author has a word to say about personal liberty, but his volume for the most part, from the cold, matter-of-fact standpoint of dollars and cents, shows that the liquor traffic not only does not pay expenses but is a thief and a robber. The author has done a good work. He has not exhausted the subject, but he has brought together in a readable and impressive way matter that temperance people are much in need of.

It is very unfortunate that the author can see the overthrow of the liquor traffic only through the agency of the Prohibition party.

This seems most absurd in face of the fact of the great extent of territory which to-day is free from the saloon because of other agencies. It is not true, as the author says, that the people are compelled by local option "to concede that somewhere license may be right, or that somewhere men have right to permit a wrong." The fallacy here is the assumption that every one believes the liquor business a wrong. We wish they did. But they do not; at least, so they talk, and so they vote. And we cannot go back of the vote. That would be un-American. The only thing we can do as loyal Americans is to persuade men to change their votes. The ideal is a saloonless country by way of a state-wide prohibition. But when enough votes cannot be gotten to make a state prohibition it would be the most intolerant and suicidal fanaticism to refuse to make sections of the state prohibition. And when the people of one town vote for no-license they are not conceding that license is right in the next town, or that the people in the next town have a right to do wrong; they are simply submitting to the American principle that the voice of the majority must be final. His arguments showing the saloon to be un-Christian, unconstitutional, and un-American are good, but in our enthusiasm for its overthrow we should be careful lest we became un-American ourselves.

But this blunder, arising from the author's intense earnestness, should not detract from the great good in his book. Especially would we call attention to his statements in regard to the unconstitutionality of the saloon. The liquor men fear it, as is evidenced by their frank refusal to take an appeal from Judge Artman's decision to the Supreme Court. If any one doubts that the saloon is doomed, we advise him to read this book.

FRANK W. COLLIER.

*How to Develop Power and Personality in Speaking.* By Grenville Kleiser. Cloth. Pp. 422. Price, \$1.25 net. New York: Funk & Wagnalls Company.

EXCEPTING Professor S. S. Curry's masterly works, we know of no volume that will compare with Professor Kleiser's new book on *How to Develop Power and Personality in Speaking* as a practical aid for earnest and thoughtful young men who would become public speakers of commanding influence. To the youth who would ask us how he might in his home best advance in the mastery of ora-

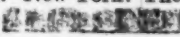
tory or effective public speaking, we should without hesitation advise him to purchase this volume and give from one to three hours a day to a study of its pages for six months' or a year's time, taking lesson by lesson and mastering each; then supplementing these luminous, practical and easily comprehended instructions by faithful practice of the many admirable illustrative selections introduced by the author. To young ministers especially the work will be invaluable, but it will also be of great practical worth to all who would gain fluency in public speaking.

The book is divided into two parts, the first being devoted to "Power and Personality in Speaking," and the second containing more than eighty choice selections for study and practice.

Professor Kleiser observes that his purpose in preparing this volume has been "to give practical suggestions and exercises for building the body, the voice and the vocabulary, for training the memory and imagination, and for the general development of power and personality in the speaker." And all who read the work will be, we think, compelled to admit that the author has succeeded in an eminent degree in the labor undertaken.

In the first division are sixteen chapters in which such subjects as the following are presented in so clear and comprehensive a manner that they can be easily understood by the general reader: "How to Develop Physical Power," "How to Develop the Speaking Voice." This is a luminous chapter in which purity, flexibility, roundness and resonance, brilliancy and volume of tone are considered. "How to Build a Vocabulary," "Power in English Style," "How to Develop the Imagination," "Dramatic Power in Speaking," "How to Train the Memory," "Power of Illustration"; power in conversation, in extemporaneous speaking, in holding an audience, in prayer, in silence and repose; "World's Great Sermons That Develop Power," and "Books That Help to Develop Power."

We take pleasure in heartily recommending this volume to all persons interested in the subject discussed.

*The Principles of Anthropology and Sociology in Their Relation to Criminal Procedure.*  
By Maurice Parmelee, M.A. Half-leather.  
Pp. 41. Price, \$1.25 net. New York: The Macmillan Company. 

IN FORM, this book is a plea for the introduc-

tion of the principles of anthropology and sociology into criminal procedure; in fact, it is an argument that these principles alone should govern criminal procedure. The great difficulty, of which the author seems entirely unconscious, is that the principles of anthropology and sociology are by no means settled, and their results have been of such a character as not to inspire confidence; and in the case of sociology there are sociologists who admit that it has not yet attained the dignity of a science. Thus the title of the book will not help it to get a hearing by well-informed people. Or if one decides to open the book, his confidence is not increased in the author's ability when upon reading a very dogmatic rejection of deduction and metaphysics, he finds that a metaphysical dogma, determinism, is made the underlying principle upon which his entire plea for the introduction of the principles of anthropology and sociology into criminal procedure rests. To be sure, he does not realize this, and this makes it all the more unfortunate. And to make matters worse, he starts off to prove determinism, or the denial of the freedom of the will, by the principles of physiological psychology. "The strongest evidence against the doctrine of free will has been furnished by the modern science of physiological psychology."

With all due respect to the author, one must say, he shows himself to be on very unfamiliar ground here, for a very elementary knowledge of philosophy and psychology should teach him that this is a metaphysical problem, quite beyond the field of physiological psychology. He may be quite sure this is the "strongest evidence"; nevertheless he appeals to the other. Continuing his remarks on the freedom of the will, he says:

"The introduction of such a power would be an exception to the law of the conservation of energy which is the fundamental principle of science, and would therefore destroy the foundation of science."

This shows a very feeble grasp upon one of the fundamental principles that science must assume. Psychic phenomena, including the freedom of the will, is accounted for as follows:

"No one has ever thought of attributing moral liberty to the lowest forms of animal life, such as the protists. The evolution of the highest forms of psychic phenomena from the lowest has been by means of a continuous series of actions and reactions between organic and inorganic matter. At no point in this

evolution is there any evidence that the power of moral liberty has been introduced." And all because of the conservation of energy. But his argument proves too much, for it would also eliminate the mind; unless he means to evolve that, too, by the action and reaction of organic and inorganic matter. If so, then it becomes our duty to call his attention to the fact that a scientist, a physician, has proved that no action or reaction of matter, organic or inorganic, can account for mind; and the same scientist also proves that personality, which the author crudely defines as "the sum of all past sensations," is what develops the brain and gives us the "highest psychic phenomena."\*

Here is another argument: "Thus we see the judgment is a mechanical process admitting no freedom of choice." No, we do not see, but we know that apart from freedom, the judgment has no meaning.

Finally he appeals to facts: "To-day certain crimes in which no moral responsibility is involved, such as involuntary homicide and wounding, are punished." We do not know where the author lives and cannot say what the facts are there, but we do know that the facts of the states in which we have lived are contrary. A few months ago a woman was killed by stepping in front of an automobile in Boston. It was just one of those unfortunate accidents for which no one could be blamed. The one driving the automobile received no punishment other than his own mental distress; and no one thought of punishing him. Nor do we think any judge or jury would have so little sense as to think of punishment in such a case.

All of this manifestation of deficiency in philosophy, psychology and the fundamental principles of science is very unfortunate, because it discounts what the author says in regard to some practical problems in criminology. Among those well worthy the careful attention of those in authority are his discussions of individualization of punishment, the criminal law, and his criticism of the jury system.

FRANK W. COLLIER.

*Historic Ghosts and Ghost-Hunters.* By H. Addington Bruce. Cloth. Pp. 234. Price, \$1.25 net. New York Moffat, Yard & Company.

IN THIS collection of famous events in which discarnate spirits were said to have played a

\*"Brain and Personality," by W. Hanna Thomson.

large part, Mr. Bruce has given us a volume as interesting as romance. Yet he is, it seems to us, so anxious to disprove the theory that the spirits of the dead can and do communicate with their friends in this life, that he at times allows himself to be biased by his preconceived opinions in considering the alleged phenomena.

In his former work, *The Riddle of Personality*, Mr. Bruce has developed at length the theory of telepathy as accounting for all the so-called spiritualistic phenomena; and in the present volume, where the phenomena have not been dismissed as due to purely materialistic causes, the theory of telepathy and the subliminal self has been brought in and most ingeniously used to explain happenings which seemed clearly to indicate to those concerned that the spirits of the dead had returned and communicated with them. Any thinker who originates or becomes a special champion of a theory is liable to give undue emphasis to this theory and to push it to unwarranted lengths when applying it to specific cases—an error which would be avoided by persons of more impartial and judicial temper. One suspects that Mr. Bruce's weakness for his pet theory of telepathy has led him to view some of the occurrences which he describes through the spectacles of the special pleader rather than those of the impartial investigator; and in several instances his explanations seem to us even more remarkable than the wonderful events related.

The volume consists of eleven chapters in which the following historic ghost stories are related in a graphic manner, and explained away to the entire satisfaction of the author, if not to that of the impartial investigator of psychic phenomena: "The Devils of Loudon," "The Drummers of Tedworth," "The Haunting of the Wesleys," "The Visions of Emanuel Swedenborg," "The Cock Lane Ghost," "The Ghost Seen by Lord Brougham," "The Seeress of Prevorst," "The Mysterious Mr. Home," "The Watseka Wonder," "A Medieval Ghost-Hunter," and "Ghost-Hunters of Yesterday and To-day." AMY C. RICH.

*Right and Riches.* By Charles O. McCasland. Cloth. Pp. 350. Price, \$1.50 net. Pasadena, California: The Wilbur Publishing Company.

THE AUTHOR has evidently given much thought to his subject and he has written with a noble purpose. Taking things as they are and allowing Mr. McCasland his definitions

of terms, it is hard to find any flaw in his reasoning. The trouble with the book lies in the fact that it is too technical for the ordinary reader, and scholars may not be willing to acknowledge Mr. McCasland as an authority. Here are some of the author's points as condensed by the publishers:

"Capital is defined as consisting solely of 'Stock' and 'Equipment,' such terms being used in their every-day meaning. Money and credit are excluded.

"Issue is taken with accepted precepts by the statement that capital is improperly termed a product of labor, for the wealth of which it is constituted accrues from the outgrowth of nature and especially from its own reproduction a hundred times as much as from labor. Capital must be treated as starting, not from output, but from the postponement of the enjoyment of wealth and its conversion to reproductive functions.

"The relative importance of Labor is commonly exaggerated. Capital has a hundred-fold the productive effect of Labor. Hence the relatively greater importance of its proper reward. The providers of capital never ask anything but security and a reasonable percentage of interest.

"With proper protection and encouragement Capital would revolutionize the whole process of industry. The degree of a nation's civilization is measured by its use of capital.

"The opportunity and reward of workers depend entirely upon the effective quantity of Capital with which they may cooperate.

"It is the author's contention that the discouragements imposed against the accumulation and conversion of wealth into productive capital, is the vital cause of our industrial trouble.

"It is concluded that Christianity and economics are in accord in their principles and ultimate ideals of brotherhood. That greed and repression is as wholly antagonistic to a bountiful commerce as it is to the golden rule.

"Entire elimination of *hindrance*, even though it involve the extinction of private property, is the ultimate economic ideal, while impossible of complete present demonstration, and it agrees with the command, 'Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself.'

"It is urged in fulfilment of this command that as industrial progress 'unitizes' production into monopolies, the increase of the spirit of fellowship should so unify human purpose that public or common ownership may be

extended until the final absorption by society of all private property.

"Economic science is not subject to questions of policy. It is based upon infallible and unchanging laws, which are as important in the practice of the individual as they are to humanity collectively."

Is it not strange that so many processes of reasoning lead directly or indirectly to some form of Socialism?

ROBERT E. BISBEE.

*The American Executive and Executive Methods.* By John H. Finley and John F. Sanderson. Cloth. Pp. 352. New York: The Century Company.

EIGHT volumes describing comprehensively the manner in which the governmental agencies of the American State are organized and administered make up the so-called American State series, edited by W. W. Willoughby of the Johns Hopkins University. The book under review is one of this series. It is carefully written and academic in style. It treats of the executive function from the time of the colonial governors down to the present. "The American Executive," says the author, "is an institution of native origin. The American Executive is not the successor of the British King." He then goes on to state what the American executive powers are and how they are administered. Nothing new or startling is developed in the volume. It is instructive though rather dry reading.

ROBERT E. BISBEE.

*Interludes.* By Thomas S. Jones, Jr. Paper. Printed on deckle-edged paper. Pp. 23. Clinton, New York: George William Browning.

THOSE who read and enjoyed Mr. Jones' charming little volume of verse, entitled *From Quiet Valleys*, which was reviewed in the December *ARENA*, will welcome this little collection of sonnets and lyrics. Most of the poems are pitched in a minor key, but all reveal an intimate spiritual insight and understanding and the same love of nature in her various moods which marked the former work. Mr. Jones is no singer of heroic verse, but he possesses in a large degree the true rhythmic sense. All his lines are musical and many of them sing themselves into the memory. We are not surprised to learn that several of his lyrics have been set to music by appreciative composers.



Of the poems in the present volume we quote the following, entitled, "Joyous-Gard" as perhaps the most perfect thing in the collection:

"Wind-washed and free, full-swept by rain and wave,  
By tang of surf and thunder of the gale,  
Wild be the ride yet safe the barque will sail,  
And past the plunging seas her harbor brave;  
Nor care have I that storms and waters rave,  
I cannot fear since you can never fail—  
Once I have looked upon the burning grail,  
And through your eyes have seen beyond the grave.

"I know at last—the strange, sweet mystery,  
The nameless joy that trembled into tears,  
The hush of wings when you were at my side—  
For now the veil is rent and I can see,  
See the true vision of the future years,  
As in your face the love of Him who died!"

AMY C. RICH.

*Emmanuel.* A picture in colors, from an original concept by Clarence J. Clarke, from an original water-color painting. Price, \$5.00. Detroit, Michigan: Detroit Publishing Company.

THROUGH all the centuries of Christian history symbolical pictures have held a peculiar fascination for large numbers of people. They have served not only to stimulate thought and give wings to the imagination, but also to rivet the mind on noble concepts.

Mr. Clarke's picture is the first work of the kind we have noticed that embodies in symbolism some of the master ideas emphasized by Christian Science. The picture was conceived by Clarence J. Clarke, of Los Angeles, California, and executed by a well-known water-color artist.

In the center of the picture appears an angel of conventional design, brooding over the two hemispheres and holding in one hand the Bible, in the other *Science and Health*. Above the angel, rising out of rainbow-tinted clouds, appear the Christian Science temple and Mother Church of Boston. In the back of the picture is a black background, without form, and void, but out of which rises the world. In front of the angel is a large gold cross, before which are the words, "Seek ye first the Kingdom of God and His righteousness." The cross rests upon a series of steps on which are found the words "Understanding," "Humanity," "Honesty," "Purity," "Hope," "Faith" and "Love." Below is found the scripture legend "God is all in all." At the top of the picture is seen a dove descending, and here also appear the Bible

words, "Let there be light." On the gold-bordered background are several significant words and scripture references. The picture is entitled "Emmanuel," and underneath this word appears the declaration of Jesus, "Unto you is given to know the mysteries of the Kingdom of God."

*The Cell as the Unit of Life, and Other Lectures.*

By Allan Macfadyen, M.D., B.Sc. Cloth. Pp. 381. Price, \$3.00 net. London: J. & A. Churchill. Philadelphia: P. Blakistons' Sons & Company.

THE LECTURES published in this volume were delivered by the late Dr. Macfadyen at the Royal Institution of London while the distinguished physician occupied the chair of physiology. The volume contains nineteen chapters or lectures, the general subjects treated dealing with "The Cell as the Unit of Life," "Cellular Physiology," "Recent Methods and Results in Biological Inquiry," "Toxins and Antitoxins," and "The Effects of Physical Agents on Bacterial Life."

Dr. Macfadyen was one of the most eminent English authorities on bacteria and all matters relating to toxicology. After receiving high honors in English colleges, he studied extensively on the Continent, after which his special researches and discoveries soon placed him among the leading materialistic physical scientists among English physicians and made him one of the most eminent demonstrators in the departments of bacteriology and toxicology.

His lectures on "The Cell as the Unit of Life"—five in all, and on "Cellular Physiology"—six in number, all of which appear in the present volume, created quite a furore when they were first delivered in London, and were widely discussed throughout medical and scientific publications; while his lectures and researches dealing with toxins and antitoxins attracted the special attention of working chemists and physicians—of all, indeed, who were interested in general research in these departments of investigation.

To persons interested in these subjects, this volume will appeal as a work of special value and interest. It has been carefully edited by R. T. Hewlett, M.D., F.R.C.P., D.P.H., and will be ranked as one of the most important recent works dealing with interesting problems of modern physical science and medicine from the materialistic view-point.

## NOTES AND COMMENTS.

### "David Warfield: The Actor and The Man."

THE ARENA'S notable series of critical dramatic papers is continued in this issue by an exceptionally fascinating and interesting personal study of DAVID WARFIELD, the man and his art, by LAWRENCE HALL. In this remarkable paper the author treats of the dramatic career of Mr. WARFIELD, from the days when he was so popular as a fun-maker in his impersonations of East Side Hebrew life. He shows how he succeeded, and splendidly succeeded, in "The Auctioneer," "The Music Master," and "A Grand Army Man." A brief but lucid criticism of his work in the last two plays is given, with an estimate of Mr. WARFIELD as an actor, and the distinctive characteristics of his art. Next we are told something of the actor's ambitions in regard to his proposed assumption of Shakespearian characters, especially that of SHYLOCK. Here also is found Mr. WARFIELD's concepts of the demand of the present-day drama, and a beautiful glimpse of the heart side of the actor's life is seen in his tribute to his home city, San Francisco. A charming and intimate sidelight is also turned on the domestic life of the artist as lived in his beautiful and happy home amid the art treasures he loves so well. The paper will be magnificently illustrated. The thousands and tens of thousands of thinking men and women who have smiled and shed tears when witnessing this artist's incomparable interpretations of "The Music Master" and "The Grand Army Man" will wish to possess this sympathetic but intelligently critical study of Mr. WARFIELD and his art.

### "Browning's Theory of Love." By Elmer James Bailey, Ph.M., A.M.

THIS is one of those finished and finely discriminating papers that can come only from the pen of one who is a thorough master of his subject, who possesses a broad view of life and literature, and who is peculiarly gifted with critical discernment or the judicial spirit. In the first part of the paper the author discusses in a fascinating and informing manner the human love motive in BROWNING'S poems, citing a wealth of illustrative lines which make clear the master contention of the paper. Later he critically examines the poet's philosophy in the light of sound ethics. It is a thoroughly delightful contribution that, like Professor HENDERSON'S criticism of BERNARD SHAW, will broaden and deepen the culture of all readers. Mr. BAILEY is the author of an important new work entitled *The Novels of George Meredith: A Study*, recently brought out by the SCRIBNERS. Since 1907 he has been a member of the faculty of Cornell University.

### "Harmonizing Our Dual Government."

NOTHING is more needed at the present time than clear thinking along the lines of the rights, duties and proper provinces of the state and national governments, from the view-point of fundamental

democracy. Since the rise of the plutocracy and its growing dominance in government, there has been a steady attempt on the part of the great army of legal retainers employed by the feudalism of privileged wealth to befog the public mind and to play the state against the national government and the national government against the state, in the interests of predatory wealth. And the fundamental principles involved have been further unhappily confused by the arrogation of unconstitutional powers by the executive department of government during recent years. In Mr. BENNETT'S masterly paper on "Harmonizing Our Dual Government" we have one of the most statesmanlike, wise and sound considerations of this vital question that has yet appeared. The author's brief review of historic conditions attending the writing and ratification of the Constitution is followed by a luminous discussion of the case in relation to present conditions and from the standpoint of fundamental democracy; while the suggested changes will impress thoughtful patriots as being at once wise, sane and eminently practical. It is one of those timely and constructive papers which the present critical hour imperatively demands, and should have the widest possible reading.

### "The Life-Religion."

OUR popular series of papers dealing with the church in the present crisis and prepared by leading representative clergymen of various denominations and by prominent lay thinkers, is continued in this month's issue by a wonderfully luminous and thought-inspiring paper from the pen of Mr. RUFUS W. WEEKS, a prominent business man of the metropolis, entitled "The Life-Religion." In it Mr. WEEKS points out a fact that has been too often overlooked—that the FOUNDER of Christianity laid special emphasis on the life that now is and the duty which devolves on persons claiming to be His followers to practically carry out the ideal of human brotherhood. Happily for America, and indeed for the Christian world, there are everywhere signs of a moral or spiritual awakening on the part of a large element, both in the clergy and the laity. The old perfunctory teachings of creedal and dogmatic theology are recognized as being wholly inadequate to the grave demands of the present. Democracy the world over demands a religion that shall make good in social relations the ethics that underlie Christian theology. The papers in the present series in THE ARENA are luminous contributions to the literature of this social awakening.

### "The Dawn of Constitutional Government in The Orient." By Raimohan Dutt.

THIS is a short paper by an East Indian thinker. After briefly discussing the bloodless revolution in Turkey and pointing out the success of Japan under constitutional government, Mr. DUTT urges the right of India to the enjoyment of representative

government. The author represents the contention of Young India—a contention that has recently grown so insistent as to thoroughly alarm the English government, and which we predict will in less than a decade accord far greater constitutional rights to India than Lord MORLEY even now proposes to give.

**"Why Race-Suicide With Advancing Civilization?"  
A Reply."**

THOUGH personally we do not agree with the conclusions in the thought-stimulating paper contributed to this issue by Rabbi SOLOMON SCHINDLER, our readers will find in it much that will awaken thought. Personally we do not view life from the materialistic standpoint. We believe life to be an evolution; that the Cosmic Mind finds expression in the constantly advancing stages of existence. The circumstance that life on various stages has given place to a higher order of life in the ascent of the past, and the further circumstance that the materialistic phenomena presented in the vegetable and animal world do not necessarily favor the concept of the persistence of life after the change termed death, and the further fact that nations and civilizations in the past, when dominated by materialistic ideals, have gone down, do not, it seems to us, prove either that the crown and consummation of creation is destined to extinction at the grave, or that national life or civilization is necessarily fronting the tomb. So long as moral idealism is the dominant note in a nation's life or in the life of a civilization, youth, vigor and growth will mark society. It is only when the soul of a nation or a civilization ceases to aspire and retrogrades, loses faith and becomes materialistic, that death strikes its vitals. But to those accepting the materialistic hypothesis, Rabbi SCHINDLER's position is, we think, conclusive.

**"Some Modern Educational Readjustments."**

IT AFFORDS US great pleasure to present this month a luminous paper from the pen of one of the most fundamental and brilliant authorities in art and its relation to the world-order and social progress, of our present age. Professor JOHN WARD STIMSON, as many readers of THE ARENA are aware, is the author of that distinctly great volume, *The Gate Beautiful*, in our judgment the most important, philosophically sound and eminently practical work on art that has come from the pen of any American. After graduating from Yale, he spent five years in Paris, pursuing his researches, after which he visited the great art capitals of the world, making a profound study of the philosophy of art. In the present paper he touches all too briefly upon a vital educational movement that though as yet in comparative infancy, is destined, we believe, to become one of the great factors for moral, mental and social emancipation.

**"Robert Ingersoll After Nine Years."**

IN THE paper which we present this month on "Robert Ingersoll After Nine Years," from the scholarly pen of Rev. J. T. SUNDERLAND, A.M., we are able to give our readers what we believe is the fairest and most impartial estimate of Mr. INGERSOLL that has yet been made. Mr. SUNDERLAND is the brilliant author of one of the ablest books that it

has been our fortune to enjoy, dealing with the higher criticism, and entitled *The Origin and Character of the Bible*. He is also the author of *The Spark in the Clod* and other deeply thoughtful works. Though a man of strong religious convictions, his breadth of thought and sympathy with the modern critical or scientific spirit enables him to view the character of Colonel INGERSOLL in a remarkably judicial spirit.

**"Jesus, Woman and Divorce."**

WE EARNESTLY urge all readers of THE ARENA to carefully peruse Rev. ROLAND D. SAWYER's deeply suggestive and admirable exposition of the passage in the New Testament upon which the upholders of the present movement to prevent divorce rely for their ammunition. While personally we yield to no one in our reverence for the sanctity of the home and the sacredness of the marriage relation, wherever true marriage obtains, wherever there is the union which alone can constitute true marriage, on the other hand, we personally believe that nothing would be more fatal to morality and the development of the best in the coming generations than the triumph of the reactionaries who are seeking to restrict divorce so that a woman married to a drunkard or to a man whose dissolute life has filled his system with poisons that would be transmitted to the coming generations, should be unable to obtain a divorce. We furthermore believe that wherever the marriage relation obtains after love has given place to hate, the denial of divorce is not only unfortunate for the citizens and the state of to-day, but doubly unfortunate for the oncoming generations, inasmuch as children born under such conditions are almost certain to be the children of hate and discord, destined to curse rather than bless society and themselves.

**"Our Over-Developed Sense of Humor."**

IN MRS. TIETJENS' remarkably true and very timely paper on "Our Over-Developed Sense of Humor," our readers will find one of the most thoughtful brief papers of the present year. The author has placed her finger upon one of the weak and disquieting characteristics of the American people. The tendency to shrink from anything that is unpleasant or deeply serious, or to laugh at sentiments the cultivation of which give to character a richness and worth comparable to the fragrance of the flower, suggests the presence of a serious weakness in our national life, which has been felt and noted by many thoughtful men and women; yet we know of no writer who has so admirably characterized this as has Mrs. TIETJENS in the paper which we publish this month.

**"Democracy, The High School and Self-Supporting Students."**

IT AFFORDS US much pleasure to be able to present this month another highly suggestive paper from the always thoughtful pen of Mr. WILLIAM THUM. In this contribution the author, who has a proper sense of the importance of education, on the one hand, and of the needs of fundamental democracy and social progress, on the other, makes some suggestions in regard to the provision of education for poor young men, that are well worth the serious consid-

eration of American youths as well as of all educators who possess the moral enthusiasm and love of their kind which lifts a teacher from the ranks of the mere hireling to those of a prophet of light and leading.

**"James Russell Lowell as a Poet of Freedom and Human Rights."**

BELIEVING as we do that there is no kind of literature more important in crucial periods, when the forces of reaction and despotism are subtly advancing in political and social life, than the biographical sketches of the priests and prophets of progress, we this month give a character study of JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL as a prophet of freedom. It is hoped that in the splendid thought and moral enthusiasm expressed in the life and words of LOWELL, many of our readers will catch new inspiration and courage for the warfare which the friends of fundamental democracy and social righteousness are waging.

**"The Defeat of a Mighty Corporation."**

MR. HENRY FRANK's brief but timely paper will be read with interest by our army of earnest readers. It deals with one of the most hopeful of the recent popular victories in the courts, and the author also incidentally points out the vital importance of a free press to the preservation of popular rights and free institutions. MR. FRANK is an old and valued contributor to THE ARENA and is the author of a number of well-known and able volumes, perhaps the

most notable of which are *The Doom of Dogma*, *The Kingdom of Love*, and *The Mastery of Mind*.

**"The Central Bank Idea."**

WE DESIRE to call the serious attention of all our readers to ELLIS O. JONES' masterly paper dealing with the central-bank tradition or idea. In this paper the writer gives a number of important historical facts relative to the battle fought by President JACKSON against the dangerous aggressions of the great banking power in his day, about which there is much confusion in the public mind. He also presents the subject of the central bank, which is one of the very important issues before our people in a most luminous and suggestive manner.

**"The Determining Vision."**

THIS month we give our readers an exquisite little allegory from the gifted pen of the well-known journalist, EMILY S. BOUTON, entitled "The Determining Vision." It teaches a lesson of supreme importance for all to learn, especially at the present time when the forces of egoism and materialism are succeeding to such a marked degree in anesthetizing the public opinion-forming influences of the land. He who tries to evade the obligations imposed by the law of solidarity, for self-advancement, ease or emolument, not only becomes a clog on the wheels of civilization but blights, maims and jeopardizes his own soul.





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# In Nature's Realm

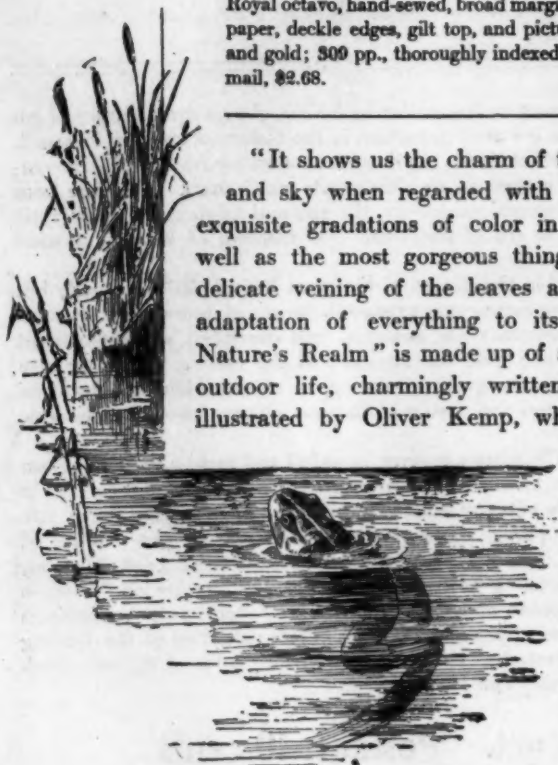
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marsh. . ."

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# LAWSON'S MASTERPIECE

## THE FUTURE OF OUR COUNTRY. IV

The Roosevelt Circle  
By THOMAS W. LAWSON

FOR the fourth part of a century The Few had ruled the land and The Many were as slaves, toiling in their sweat, and yielding up their harvests to The Few. They knew the land to be prosperous, prosperous to the limit of God's bounty, and they were told that all this prosperity was theirs. Yet they saw the fruits of this richness possessed by The Few. They were told that they made the laws and administered the laws. Yet they saw that the laws were made and administered for the benefit of The Few. They were told that all were free and all were equal, yet everywhere was the evidence of their bondage. And the people were sorely perplexed. Then God spoke and he whom the people had chosen as their ruler was taken from them and in his stead they found another. Then came the wondrous change. For he whom God had sent struck the scales from their eyes and swept the mist from their understanding, and the people saw themselves and their land in true light. They hardened to him whom God had sent, and, as one inspired, he commanded:

FIRST. The land shall be ruled by the people and not by The Few, as it has been writ by the fathers of the land.

SECOND. The result of the efforts of the people shall be for the people, and not for The Few, who by trickery, and by might bred of trickery, have taken unto themselves the fruits of the people's efforts.

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THIRD. The people shall make the laws, and they shall administer the laws, and the laws, and the administration of the laws shall be for the benefit of the people, and not for the benefit of The Few.

FOURTH. Justice shall be everywhere, and shall protect the poor and the humble, and shall control the rich and the great.

FIFTH. The dominion of Almighty Dollar over the ballot box, the halls of legislation, and the courts of justice, shall be terminated, and its voice shall avail not when the people speak.

SIXTH. The instruments which have been created by the laws for the people's benefit shall be the implements of the people, and not the weapons of The Few; what they reap from the prosperity of the people shall belong to the people, and they shall always and everywhere bend to the people's will, in acknowledgment of their servitude to the people's laws.

SEVENTH. The transgressor of the laws of the people shall be branded with the scar of his transgression, and the greater the transgression, the deeper shall be the brand.

EIGHTH. The dollar kings of the land, at all times, and in all places, and under pain of forfeiture and disgrace, shall stand ready to show honest title to their kingdoms.

NINTH. Of all things the most sacred shall be the laws of God and the laws of the people, and they shall be most honored who most cherish and best exemplify these laws.

TENTH. In the defense of these commandments death shall be held lightly, and punishment shall be equal and heavy to all who shall disobey them.

## "The Future of Our Country"

For seven years this ruler whom God had sent to the people fought as one inspired, ever and without fear, and for seven years he labored as a God-made giant, that all should obey the commandments.

And as he fought the people were aroused to a sense of their true condition, and to the nobility of their ruler, and to the magnitude of the fight he fought for them, and for their unborn. And they cheered him on, and brought to him their wreaths of laurel, and their prayer for the success of his sacred fight and —

But to every man comes the day and the end, and when that day comes he must say to his God and to his people, "Another must take up the cross and wield the sword."

And when the man whom God had sent to lead the people from their plight saw that his day and his end had come, his eye swept the land for one who would carry his commandments on into the beyond, and from amongst all the people he chose one, and he said to the people:

"What I have tried to do I know he will try to do," and the people, with faith and without fear, made his choice their choice.

Hark throughout the earth a voice! What he did that will I do; what he tried to do that will I try to do. As he did not falter neither will I falter, and so ye trusted in him, and he had faith in me, so, too, may ye trust in me, to help me, Almighty God.

And time, whirling, swirling, on-rushing time, heard, and ere a silver of its eternity has passed, its stylus will have written for all infinity to read:

What Roosevelt began, Taft — And in the writing will be found the answer to that question of questions of all humanity: Can a republic endure?

(To be continued)

(From the March Number.)

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## A Sensation Promised

Lawson will discuss in his  
great Serial of Prophecy:

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## WHAT "THE ARENA" STANDS FOR

**T**HE ARENA is an open forum for the dignified discussion of great political, social, economic, educational, religious and philosophical problems, when presented in a thoughtful manner, free from personalities.

In addition to this, it stands for certain definite and important practical movements that we believe under existing conditions are imperatively demanded in order to preserve and make effective the foundation principles of democratic republican government and that measure of civic righteousness and efficiency that is essential to safeguard the interests and foster the happiness and development of all the people.

We believe that if the Republic is to become and remain the true leader of civilization, moral idealism rather than materialistic aggression, the ideal of peace and righteousness rather than the theory of force and commercial aggrandizement, must be the key-note of national life.

We believe that no nation can hope for a great to-morrow that is faithless to its trust to the children of to-day; that without environing childhood with conditions that foster physical, mental and moral unfoldment, the recreant nation must decline; and thus where child-slavery in mine, factory, shop or mill is permitted the nation sells her birthright to give to greed-crazed privileged classes a mess of pottage.

We believe that war is a crime against civilization and inimical to the foundation principles of Christianity, and that the nation that does not throw its whole influence in favor of arbitration and all practical efforts to compel nations to settle their differences without appealing to the arbitrament of force, is false to the ethics of Jesus and the cause of civilization.

We believe in justice for all the people and that in the great coöperative movements that are sweeping many lands lies one of the splendid practical peaceful methods for securing to the people the fruits of their toil, without making them dependent on parasite classes that levy extortion on industry and take from the toiler that to which he is rightfully entitled.

In a word, *THE ARENA* stands for a *peaceful, progressive and practical program looking toward the realization and maintenance of a government such as was conceived by the author of the Declaration of Independence*; a government marked by equal rights for all and special privileges for none; a government in which equality of opportunities and of rights shall be the master-note of national life; a government "of the people, by the people and for the people," under the regis of the Golden Rule. And therefore it is especially hospitable to those great economic movements that favor the advancement of a juster day, the advent of a nobler, freer manhood, and the outflowering of a nation whose crowning glory shall be her moral grandeur.

And, with DeTocqueville, holding that "The cure for the evils of democracy is more democracy," *THE ARENA* demands:

- I. Direct-Legislation, through the Initiative and Referendum, supplemented by the Right of Recall.
- II. Public-Ownership and operation of all public utilities or natural monopolies.
- III. Proportional Representation, as a practical provision for giving all classes a proportional voice in government, relative to their strength.
- IV. Voluntary Coöperation.
- V. The abolition of child-slavery in factory, shop, mill and mine.
- VI. Arbitration at home and abroad.
  - (a) Compulsory arbitration, to the end that the people shall not be made the victims of warring interests, and by which justice may obtain rather than cunning or force.
  - (b) An aggressive campaign for international arbitration and the reduction of armaments.
- VII. Coincident with a persistent insistence on a practical progressive program along the lines of fundamental democracy and looking toward securing justice for all the people, a vigorous educational propaganda, with the master purpose of arousing the spiritual energies of the people, to the end that moral idealism shall supplant materialistic greed, and altruism blossom where egoism blights.



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SOMETIME FELLOW IN CHURCH HISTORY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

**T**HIS WORK, as the *Boston Globe* says, gives a better idea than was ever before presented between a single pair of covers what a strong part monasticism has performed in the world's history. Mr. Wishart brings the advantages of a trained mind and the scholarly instinct to this work. Hermits, beggars, diplomatists, statesmen, professors, missionaries, pontiffs, ascetic organizations and the rise and fall of empires are eloquently portrayed. He has sifted his authorities so carefully, says the *Philadelphia Times*, that the book has the stamp of truth in every statement placed there, however so deftly, that the literary grace of the work is fully preserved. It is a captivating theme, says the *New York Times*, and the pictures the work presents are vivid and clear. His list of authorities and excellent notes will be found helpful to both student and general reader. It emphatically ought to take rank among the favorite volumes in the libraries of students of the middle ages, says the *Philadelphia North American*.

The original edition of this work will give pleasure to those who love a book for its intrinsic beauty. The paper is a noble quality of "close-wire" laid "feather-weight" with deckle-edges, and was printed while wet—a process fatal to papers made from substitutes for cotton and linen fibers. The margins are liberally broad. The types—generous size—are the old-style Dutch face, cut originally by Caslon, of London, about 1725, after the Elzevir models. The lines are well opened, and the ink is a deep, full-bodied bluish-black. The size is royal octavo. The work is thoroughly indexed and contains 454 pages, besides four true photo-gravure plates. The price is \$3.50 net; by mail, \$3.68.

A new (12mo.) edition of this work, without the illustrations, has been issued in response to a demand for a popular cheaper edition, containing in the appendix an extended note dealing with the Philippine friars. The price is \$1.50; by mail, \$1.62.

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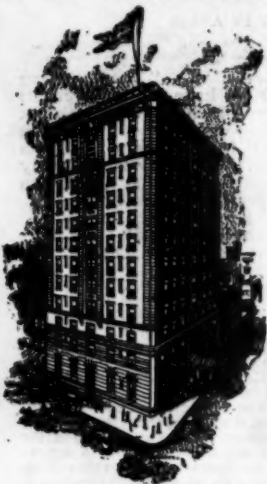
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